**Defective Vision** *The Editors*

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*Alex Campbell Reports from Vietnam*

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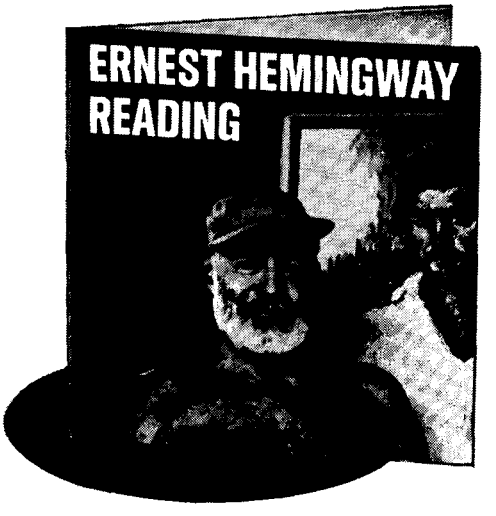


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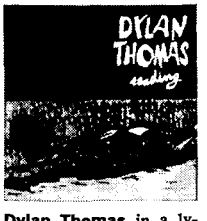


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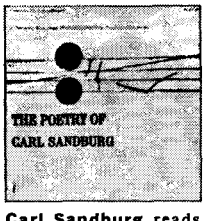


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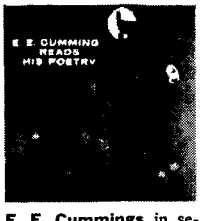


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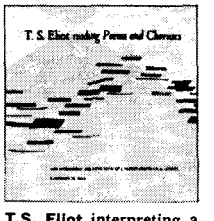


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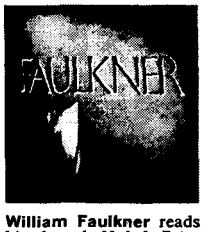


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# T.R.B. *from Washington*

*Gigantism Is Growing*

★ The big fish keep swallowing small fish among US corporations. Now they call them "mergers," and they slip through the antitrust laws. The Federal Trade Commission keeps score, and recently issued its annual report. It found 1965 mergers reached "the highest levels on record." The report doesn't really do it justice because it just includes manufacturing and mining firms. Things like banks, carriers and TV chains aren't recorded. Yet it's impressive at that: "Some 2,400 large manufacturing and mining companies," FTC says, "control in the aggregate over 80 percent of all manufacturing and mining assets." Bet you didn't read that in your local paper.

There's "a sharply rising trend in the frequency with which large firms are acquired." The word "large" is technical; it's a company with assets of $10 million or more. Last year, 91 "large" mergers occurred. Acquired assets – $3.8 billion. This was a jump of 38 percent over 1964.

Gigantism is growing. How can the little man, the individual, stand up against these monsters? We have about concluded that the antitrust laws are window-dressing.

*The Anti-Reapportionment Lobby*

★ In an eighth-floor office in Washington – 733 15th St., NW – are headquarters of an elaborate drive to circumvent the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote ruling. Propaganda is going out and money is rolling in on behalf of a proposed constitutional amendment, the malapportionment amendment. Every 10 years states would choose whether they want both houses of their legislatures fairly apportioned, or only one with a veto power. The odd thing is that nobody can tell how much money is coming in, or who is putting it up. Senator Dirksen is the leader of the drive. He declared that Price, Waterhouse and Company were auditing the books; but this turns out not to be so. In suites 826 to 834 are housed the dummy "Committee for the Government of the People" with room 828 listed for "Whitaker & Baxter," the celebrated California political management firm. Last year the Dirksen amendment failed by only seven Senate votes. One lobbyist today gets a fee of $15,000; eight on the staff have monthly salaries estimated at $10,000; Whitaker & Baxter aren't hired for peanuts.

*Taking in a New Idea*

★ About 80 reporters last week took a crash course on China in the Fulbright hearings, at which Columbia University professor A. Doak Barnett and Harvard professor John Fairbank testified. Not a bad idea to find out something about China when you come to think of it; after all it contains a quarter of the world's inhabitants. Barnett and Fairbank are just the type of Old China Hands Joe McCarthy drove out of the State Department a dozen years ago, when we nailed shut our present relationship and adopted a Closed Mind policy. Here are some of the things we got out of the hearings: our embargo policy is silly, we are the only nation that applies it and anything China wants it can buy from our allies; the whole top-level aging Chinese leadership may go any day now, Mao is 72 and doing poorly (one whisper: Parkinson's disease). Why not try to entice China out of its dangerous isolation into the UN? – she would be a bloody nuisance inside, but less of a menace than outside. It was fascinating to see a dozen or more senators nodding agreement, apparently taking in a new idea for the first time. The threat of war with China hovers over Washington like a cloud, Democrats and Republicans, doves and hawks, seemed willing to toy with the novel notion. It's a curiosity of the present stress here that it may harden men's minds in one direction and open them in another.

*Poisonous By-Products*

★ At a certain point a war becomes an independent entity: it takes off, proceeds on its own. We still talk about controlling the Vietnam war. Can we? Washington is a city where temperatures are rising, epithets increasing, minds closing. Poll takers, like Louis Harris & Associates and Sam Lubell, find LBJ's popularity dropping; the public (says Harris) is "seeking a military solution to what is generally regarded as a frightening stalemate." That's the motto: Get tough and get it over with.

You can see why it's so; the boys are there, therefore we must support the boys. Our boys are brave, therefore our war must be just. A *non sequitur*, sure, but who reasons in wartime; are you a Vietnik? We see, alas, various signs of nastiness: Majority Whip Russell Long (D, La.), blatherskiting in the Senate about Old Glory; celebrated columnists suddenly denouncing other columnists; a recommendation by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, retired White House adviser, that we mine Haiphong Harbor (hard to believe he didn't have White House clearance); McCarthyism in the State Department with the ouster of liberal Abba Schwartz, advocate of visa interchange with Iron Curtain countries; McCarthyism in the Justice Department with crackdown on the WEB DuBois Clubs.

Take the DuBois Clubs. The Justice Department has tried 20 times and more to force organizations to register under the 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act and has never done it yet. Now the Department makes a martyr out of the DuBois Clubs (2,500 members, mostly undergraduates, mostly against Vietnam). What happens? Somebody bombs its headquarters in California and we're off and away. Nobody loves to feel persecuted more than Rebellious Youth, and we suppose the DuBois Clubs, or their equivalent, will now double membership in no time.

The sour note extends into politics. Gallup Poll reading on LBJ's popularity – previous poll, 61 percent; latest poll, 56 percent. Quite a drop. We don't know what the President will do. He told a columnist here recently he thinks Americans want to go all-out when they fight a war; blame him for restraint. He may well be right.

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# Defective Vision

It is logical for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to follow its hearings on Vietnam with its current inquiry into our relations with Peking. For the war in Vietnam is, in part, a proxy fight between the United States and China, each having convinced itself that national prestige and vital interests are at stake in that war. Each is not, of course, responding in the same way. The Chinese have sent advice, supplies and technicians. We have sent fighting men. Nevertheless, *we* are the foreigners who worry the Communist Chinese, and *they* are the ones who worry us. That fact, if nothing else, came through in testimony before the Fulbright Committee last week, and in Secretary McNamara's latest expression of grave concern over the possibility that China's growing nuclear arsenal might some day be used to support the "aggressive statements of her leaders."

Given this mutual distrust, what should US policy be? Barry Goldwater "would like one provocation just to knock out [China's] atomic capability." But this comes too close to the lunacy of preventive war to gratify more sensible citizens. What then? We must ask what Secretary McNamara thinks China might do to support the "aggressive statements of her leaders." On that question, Washington blows hot and cold. We are assured on a Tuesday that the US can mount an ever fiercer assault against North Vietnam without serious risk of provoking Chinese intervention. But on the preceding Thursday or Friday, we read of the terrifying lecture Secretary McNamara has given our NATO allies of the Chinese military danger. Let us assume this danger is real, that overt aggression by Peking is not improbable. What can be done to forestall it? Sixteen years ago Dean Acheson addressed himself to aggression in Asia. His analysis is more pertinent today than it was then, because of that Chinese nuclear arsenal that preoccupies Mr. McNamara. "Should such an attack occur – one hesitates to say where such an armed attack could come from – " Mr. Acheson said in 1950, "the initial reliance must be on the people attacked to resist it and then upon the commitments of the entire civilized world under the charter of the United Nations, which so far has not proved a weak reed to lean on by any people who are determined to protect their independence against outside aggression."

Acheson's general formula is germaine to discussions now going on in Geneva among 18 nations, including the US and the Soviet Union, on what assurances against nuclear attack might be offered nonnuclear powers. Some sort of collective guarantee would be useful,

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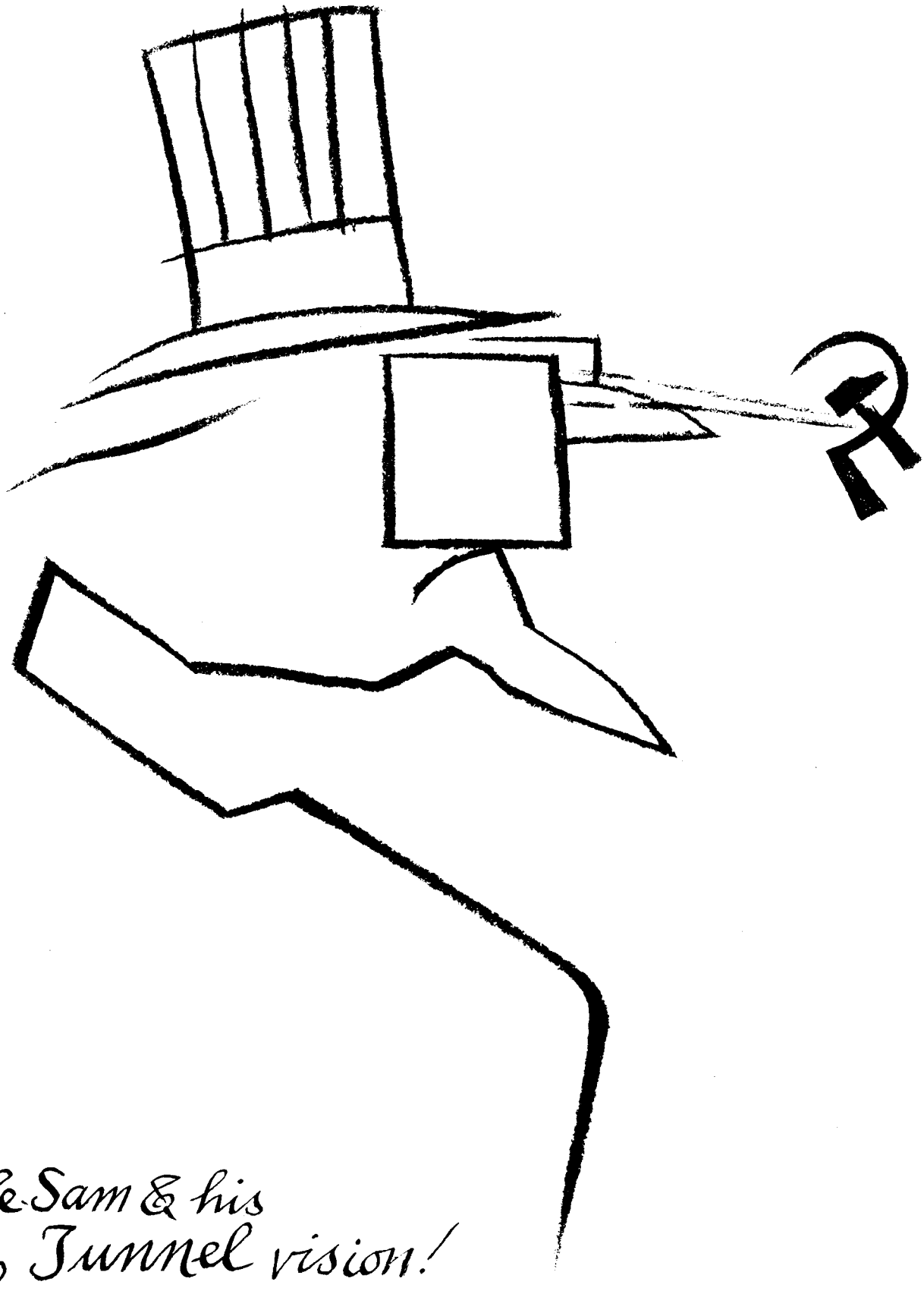




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but a collective pledge to China's neighbors is only step one, if the goal is to prevent Chinese aggression. And steps two, three and four can be taken only after we recognize that it is not just we, but the Chinese who feel threatened. To many this is hard to understand, so sure are we of our good intentions. What an imaginative effort we must make to contemplate the possibility, for instance, of thousands of Chinese fighting "our friends" in Mexico! When the Communist adversary did edge up to our borders by constructing missile sites in Cuba, our reaction was fierce and prompt; and the missiles were withdrawn. Looking at the world, or trying to, from the vantage point of Peking, the identification of who is threatening whom appears upside down. Yet near China's Western borders, 55,000 American troops stand equipped with artillery pieces capable of firing nuclear weapons. To the South, a quarter of a million Americans are fighting Asians, who, though they may not relish dependency on China, are not China's enemies. Across the Formosa Straits, a large, well-equipped hostile force remains committed, in theory, to the destruction of Communist rule of the mainland. And at China's back there is the "revisionist" Soviet Union, for whom Peking shows a contempt that is reciprocated. If we were to take into our line of sight this perspective from Peking, it would not be beyond our ingenuity to devise ways in which Chinese suspicions might, over the long haul, be moderated and whatever fears there are in Peking of encirclement and attack might be dampened. It is not China's isolation, nor the reinforcing of absurd fears that best serves our national purposes, but the gradual recognition by China that it may have and should have in its own interests a more normal and productive relationship to the West. And that can only come about as a result of multiplying contacts between the Chinese and the rest of the world – contacts in the UN (if and when China wants that), diplomatic contacts in Washington, two-way communications of all sorts.

### *Containing Subversion*

What has been so far said relates to the problem of forestalling possible military attack by the Chinese. "Indirect aggression," however, may be a more relevant concern. "It is a mistake, I think," Mr. Acheson went on to say in 1950, "in considering Pacific and Far Eastern problems to become obsessed with military considerations. Important as they are, there are other problems that press, and these other problems are not capable of solution through military means. These other problems arise out of the susceptibility of many areas, and many countries in the Pacific area, to subversion and penetration. That cannot be stopped by military means." How can it? "How do you propose to save Southeast Asia from Communism?" is the way this question is often put. How *are* we to "contain" subversion that is inspired and to a degree financed by Peking? The answer is that "we" cannot do it, but that the West can help Asians do it themselves. We and they may not succeed, but we can try. At the very least, it is safe to predict that the billion dollars a month now being used up in Vietnam would go far toward helping Asians develop subversion-resistant societies.

There is little in history or common sense to confirm Peking's faith that its way is the wave of the future in Asia, or that China's neighbors would tolerate satellite status for long – if ever. "The people of Southeast Asia have, over the centuries, shown an obstinate insistence on shaping their own destiny which the Chinese have not been able to overcome." So says the Undersecretary of State, George Ball.

This obsessive fear of Chinese power which dominates so much of the discussion about Vietnam, and which seems to have taken the place of an earlier, comparable preoccupation with Soviet power, has another side to it. Many in this nation have become enthralled by a myth – that Providence and America's enormous power have laid upon us an unprecedented and unlimited historical mission. "Spare the rod and spoil the Communists," we say. "Teach them a lesson"; they must "mend their ways." So goes the pedagogy, which instructs us that the Viet Cong must be fought until they agree to play the Jeffersonian game.

Now, we know perfectly well that Western democratic institutions have very tender roots, or none at all, in most of Southeast Asia. Never mind; we feel duty bound to blank this out and to mount a crusade to persuade these people they must not try to change their governments by force. And if they can be taught that in Vietnam, we reason, others in similar circumstances will learn it by example.

This high-minded approach to national responsibilities rests on two rather tenuous premises. The first is that we are ordained (unqualifiedly) to be the world's moral tutor; and second, that we understand enough of the ins and outs of the history, culture and needs of all these faraway places to say what's good for them. The result, as a correspondent with long experience in Asia reported to us last week, is an abundance of earnest Americans throughout Southeast Asia who are "terribly naïve, terribly cocksure and 'knowing.' They are perfectly assured that they and they only understand the natives, understand those countries, understand Communism. In short, they have unconsciously acquired the arrogant insularity of born colonialists."

Fortunately, we do not always act out the myths we invent. The United States does not, in fact, choose to be the guardian of peace, justice and stability everywhere. Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have been



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recent exceptions to prudent abstention from violent upheavals so characteristic of the postwar period. We have not taken it upon ourselves to punish all subverters of established regimes. As a nation, we have sat on the sidelines these past five years while civil wars have raged, governments have been toppled not once but twice or three times throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. Even a partial list of countries whose leaders have lately been violently deposed is long: Ghana, Nigeria, Syria, Indonesia, Algeria, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras, Iraq, the Sudan, Zanzibar and Yemen. Indeed in Yemen today, no moral or legal "commitment" to help others resist armed attack from the outside deeply concerns Mr. Rusk, though 70,000 Egyptian troops and a smaller number of troops from Saudi Arabia are both there, intervening in a civil war. Hardly an African capital does not have in residence exile organizations whose job it is to make sure that their neighbors next door are not left alone. It is a disorderly world, and we can't stop that. What we might be able to do is keep disorder from setting off a chain reaction leading to the final bang of the nuclear bomb.

We will not be buried by Communism, though we may be by clichés. For instance, it is still perfectly natural for American politicians to speak of "international Communism," though the phrase has about as much meaning as Peking's references to devilish imperialists. As a fact, not a mythology, "Communism" today is a mixed bag. In Western Europe, Africa, Latin America and most of Asia it is minorities who more often than not are working at cross purposes. Or "Communism" is the governments of the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc. – with all their individualities and rivalries. The "free world" too is anything but monolithic, including as it does Spain, Thailand, Korea, Paraguay, as well as the US, Denmark, etc. Five years ago Dean Rusk was sure that Communist China was nothing but "a colonial Russian government – a Slavic Manchukuo on a large scale – it is not the government of China. It does not pass the first test. It is not Chinese." Now, perhaps, he worries that it is too Chinese (hence its claim to Taiwan).

"Experience has taught us," President Kennedy told Congress in 1961, "that no one nation has the power or wisdom to solve all the problems of the world or manage its revolutionary tides; that extending our commitments does not always increase our security; that any initiative carries with it the risk of a temporary defeat; that nuclear weapons cannot prevent subversion; that no free peoples can be kept free without will and energy of their own; and that no two nations or situations are exactly alike. . . ."

Until that broader and longer view again becomes central to our vision, we will stagger along, as in Vietnam, half-blind, seeing through the barrel of a gun.

# GM Hired the Dick

General Motors has admitted it had been investigating Ralph Nader, the auto-safety author whose adventures with private detectives were first described in this journal last week. But the company denied it was trying to harass or intimidate Nader. Ford and Chrysler disclaim any knowledge of the snooping.

GM said the investigation was "routine" and undertaken because of Nader's "extreme criticism" of the Corvair, the company's compact. Nader has written technical papers lambasting the car's design; a chapter in his book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, is devoted to the subject. There are more than 100 different damage suits now pending against GM. They allege that engineering defects in the Corvair brought on accidents. (Five cases have been disposed of in the courts: in two instances, juries found in favor of the company; in one California case, the company settled a few days after the trial began; in Chicago, GM's failure to produce technical data on the car's design resulted in a default judgment against it; and in New Orleans a trial judge found against the company.) GM said it was investigating Nader to determine whether he was acting on behalf of the litigants or their attorneys in any of these cases.

In reply, Nader said, "There is absolutely nothing wrong with representing clients in cases against Corvair. But I am not representing any clients in Corvair cases and never have done so."

GM made its admission the day after Senators Nelson and Ribicoff asked the Justice Department to find out who was tailing the author. Nader had been a witness before Ribicoff's Government Operations subcommittee that has been looking into the government's role in traffic safety. It is a federal crime to impede, harass or intimidate a congressional witness. Maximum penalties are $5,000 fine and five years in prison. Senator Ribicoff has asked the president of GM, representatives of the detective agencies and Mr. Nader all to appear before his subcommittee March 22.

Nader had suspected GM had hired detectives to investigate him. The tip-off came at a state legislative hearing at Lansing, Mich., February 21. For the first time GM officials spoke out against the Nader book. Frank Winchell, chief of research at Chevrolet, said Nader neither owns a car nor has a driver's license. Private detectives had repeatedly asked Nader's friends whether they had seen him drive, and what kind of an automobile he owned. Any cursory check of licenses in Connecticut would have shown he had one.

There is nothing whatever "routine" about GM's Gangbusters stuff. The dicks didn't ask any questions about the Corvair cases. They sought to discover the details of Nader's sex life, whether he was left-wing,



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anti-Semitic, where he traveled. It was calculated intimidation and they were caught red-handed. The Justice Department ought also to look into what other "routine" investigations GM may have under way. And Senator Edward Long's committee on snooping might profitably spend time on this interesting aspect of automobile manufacturing.

# The Spanish Bomb

The four hydrogen bombs that an Air Force B-52 dropped over southeastern Spain on January 17 were from the stockpile of perhaps 150,000 nuclear devices of all sizes, shapes and strengths in the US arsenal. The wonder is that more of them are not similarly misplaced more often. Bombs are moved around all the time; like freight cars or airplane luggage, they do not always end up where the records say they should. One bomb lies buried near Goldsboro, N. C. – *exactly* where remains unknown. Others are reported to be at the bottom of the sea, having been dropped like ballast by damaged aircraft.

None of them have "gone off." The Defense Department says that "fail-safe" controls make it impossible for little accidents to become big explosions and that even the smaller accidents "probably" will not happen. Yet the whole concept of fail-safe is one of probabilities, and as the number of devices and the number of people handling them both increase, so does the probability of mishap.

The bombs aboard the B-52 over Spain were playpieces in the oldest established, permanent floating war game in the world. The Pentagon is playing it all the time, with real men, real ships and planes, and live bombs. Only the rules are make-believe. The consequences of mishap are real. Two thousand villagers in Palomares, Spain, were exposed to radioactive debris. And the Air Force is packing up 5,000 barrels of contaminated dirt and shipping it to the US for a safe burial, presumably out of harm's way.

There is no reason to believe that the accident will cause foolproof controls to be placed on the disposition of atomic weapons. Things are slightly better than they were under the Eisenhower Administration, when no one even kept a good count of all the nuclear weapons the US had lying around military bases, aboard ships and in planes. Kennedy's advisers instituted tighter checks, but there were still discrepancies between actual counts of bombs and the numbers in the records. It is almost impossible to know where every device is, and to what use it is being put at any given moment. Far from theoretical fail-safe, the controls so far reduce the probability of accidents to an "acceptable risk" in the judgment of the military game-players. At first, US authorities put a total ban on the release of information about the accident in Spain. Then, after 44 days of detailed but "unconfirmed" reports in the newspapers about every aspect of the story, the Spanish government announced that, indeed, the bomber had collided in mid-air with a KC-135 tanker, that the bombs had been dropped, that one was still missing, and that there had been some exposure to radioactivity in Palomares. The US said it would have told the whole story earlier but for "diplomatic courtesy" to Spain, which wanted secrecy.

Such good manners may seem inappropriate to the atomic age. But then the entire incident seems unreal – out of *Strangelove* and *Thunderball*. There was talk of a missing "black box" which contained secret codes or maps. To calm everyone's nerves, Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke and the Spanish tourist bureau director had a swim last week in the Palomares surf. They smiled to show they had stopped worrying. And the villagers of Palomares even learned to love the bomb. It will bring them jobs (carting away the dirt) and, they hope, a paved road, a water supply system and telephones. The US Air Force, they figure, owes them that.

# LBJ on Transportation

The President proposes to set up a transportation department to coordinate various government programs costing $6 billion annually. Different forms of transport do not now compete very much with one another for federal funds, nor does the government inquire too closely into the efficiency of one as against another. But a new department could change this. Before committing federal funds, say, to build a parkway from New York City out to the end of Long Island, then carry it across Long Island on a bridge and build another road up the coast to Cape Cod, the government might ask whether it would be cheaper and more efficient to carry people and goods the same distance by speedy train, or perhaps on water by hydrafoil.

The proposed federal coordination of transport modes is unsettling to the Congress, for it would disturb some familiar, almost family relationships. Each transportation industry now has its own constellation of congressional committees, regulatory agencies and subdivisions of government departments which it annually taps for money. All these arrangements would be upset, which is why congressional acceptance of the plan for a new department is doubtful.

Mr. Johnson's transportation message does not resolve the policy conflict over the future of the Merchant Marine – an omission that seems to confirm earlier suspicions that Nicholas Johnson, the Maritime administrator appointed two years ago to set new



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policy, has lost out to the shipping industry and to the longshore and maritime unions which have been urging the President to guarantee that 30 percent of our foreign trade be carried by American ships.

Nor, in his message, did the President ask for mandatory safety standards for automobiles. Instead, under his proposed bill, the Secretary of Commerce would be given discretionary authority to do what he sees fit in two year's time. While Congress is urged to set up a safety research center and reorganize the useless President's Committee on Traffic Safety, Mr. Johnson has not taken up Senator Nelson's excellent idea for having the government build a prototype safety car. On the other hand, the President endorses Senator Magnuson's bill that would direct the government to set mandatory safety standards for tires. Why tires but not cars? Because the White House hasn't the nerve to face down the auto lobby.

# Pilots and the 727

The Airline Pilots Association is angry at the Federal Aviation Agency for affirming confidence in the "basic airworthiness" of the Boeing 727 before any of the investigations of four recent crashes have been completed. Although the Airline Pilots themselves like the plane, they feel that such statements, in the absence of all the evidence, tend to make scapegoats of the pilots. Jumping to the conclusion that pilot error is responsible for a crash is the easy way out, since in most cases the pilot is dead and can't defend himself. Five pages of the 16-page summary of facts surrounding the crash last November 11 of a United Air Lines Boeing 727 in Salt Lake City were devoted to the pilot's flight record. The report produced at an executive session of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee March 1 makes interesting reading.

Captain Gale C. Kehmeier, the 47-year-old pilot who survived the Salt Lake crash, was hired by United in September, 1941. He attended an Army Transition Instructor Program during November, 1943. "From all indications," said his instructor, "his development will continue to be slow because he does not learn quickly, but [he] probably will be very thorough. There seems to be no doubt of his best application, so with additional experience he can develop to a weak average standard." Later, in January, 1944 Kehmeier went through an upgrading program during which he achieved the "weak average" of which his instructor had earlier predicted him capable. "To start, he was rough in his flying and rather sluggish and slow mentally. However, a great deal of progress was made to overcome these factors." His work varied from day to day, but he progressed. "His reactions, although at times slow, prove correct and show stable reasoning. He is conservative, possibly to the extreme."

Captain Kehmeier became certified to fly the DC-3, 4, 5 and 6, and ultimately the Boeing 707 and 720. He was considered an above average pilot of the piston planes he flew. But he encountered difficulties in training for the DC-8. In a practice oral examination he took December 27, 1960, his performance was rated "unsatisfactory in all areas covered." In a later practice he was rated as "weak." These were dry runs. When he took the actual exam "he failed it completely," and was "removed from further flight training until such time as he was able to complete the oral exam." He also ran into trouble in flight instruction. After he had received more than 19 hours of instruction in the DC-8, his instructor remarked that "Captain Kehmeier is below standard on the following items: Command Ability, Judgment, Smoothness and Coordination, Landing Technique and Standard Operating Procedures. I recommend that his DC-8 training be terminated." Captain Kehmeier went back to flying DC-6's.

In January, 1965 Kehmeier began flight instruction in the 727. His report cards this time read, "A little rough on controls and power on ground and in air." "Crosswind landings rough but improving – still having a little trouble on airspeed and altitude." "Improvement on landings." "Airspeed and altitude control below average but improving." "Much better on scan and smoothness and taxi – misses some procedures." "Can fly a good airplane but inclined to get sloppy if you don't make him fly by the numbers."

Captain Kehmeier was approved to fly the 727 by United Air Lines. He received FAA certification February 5, 1965.

# Making Up for the Past

Federal money can be used to help maintain the South's segregated schools, as John Osborne's report last week in these pages on Clarendon County, S.C., showed. But federal intervention can move communities in other ways, as evidenced by what is happening in Lowndes County, Ala., renowned chiefly for last year's two civil rights slayings and the freeing of the accused killers.

Ever since *Brown* vs *Board of Education*, federal judges have dealt primarily with administrative barriers to desegregation. Schools have been repopulated, but the courts have seemed powerless to compel communities to make up for the deprivation of the past, though it has heavily handicapped Negroes who have changed schools. Last month, however, Frank M. Johnson Jr., the firm, soft-spoken Republican federal judge in Montgomery, ordered Lowndes County to "provide remedial educational programs to eliminate the effects



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of past discrimination, particularly the results of the unequal and inferior educational opportunities which have been offered in the past to Negro students."

Historic as this February 10 order is on its face, its amicable background is equally striking. The unique ruling was virtually a consent judgment, preceded not by courtroom dispute but by lengthy negotiations among county school authorities and representatives from the Departments of Justice and HEW.

The case illustrates how effective the carrot of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the stick of the 1964 Civil Rights Act can be. The school-aid measure was written for counties like Lowndes, too poor to do better. It offered the county $323,000 this year and $521,000 next year to improve education for impoverished children, amounting to almost a 50-percent increase over the current school budget of $1,080,000. But the money was not available unless the county met HEW desegregation standards, at least on paper. Last spring's proposed county plan was rejected; in practice last fall it allowed only five of the approximately 3,900 Negro children into formerly white schools. But the 1964 act is not limited to denying funds; it gives Justice the power to sue school districts which do not desegregate, whether federal money is used or not. More than 40 such suits have sought to show recalcitrant counties that they cannot avert desegregation simply by refusing federal aid.

Lowndes got the message. Justice, already drawn into the Black Belt county by more famous injustices, sued on January 11. Then it brought in HEW personnel to explain how federal dollars could be spent, and how other Southern school districts were using the new act to launch necessary remedial programs they had not dared ask white taxpayers and officeholders to support. (That may be a smaller problem in Lowndes' future; the Voting Rights Act has helped produce a Negro voting majority.)

Although certain that federal aid would be a "big help," Miss Hulda Coleman, Lowndes County school superintendent and sister of the Thomas L. Coleman who was acquitted last fall in the shooting of seminarian Jonathan Daniels, said recently that the exact details of a remedial program had not been decided. Yet reading skills will certainly be emphasized, and possibly up to half the money will go for construction, for Judge Johnson ordered 24 ramshackle Negro schools closed. (The school board, which had discussed closing the shacks but never got around to replacing them, had already torn down a 25th, the dilapidated Rolen school, which drew national scorn as a landmark of the Selma-Montgomery march.) One new school, cited in Judge Johnson's order, will probably get special attention in the hope of making it attractive enough to whites and Negroes; an integrated faculty was ordered.

# Another Peace Offensive?

*From Our UN Correspondent*

Diplomats and high United Nations officials here have been speculating on when the next occasion for a "peace offensive" might arise. There is remarkable agreement that it could come quite soon after the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which opens in Moscow March 29.

This estimate is based on several things. First, European Communist capitals have for some time been uncomfortably aware that the Vietnam war, which may go on for years, blocks the development of economic and cultural relations with the United States and stymies any fruitful East-West negotiations on disarmament or the nonproliferation of atomic weapons. Hard-pressed as they are economically and having a shortage of convertible currencies, many of these countries want badly to increase their trade with the US. They want larger American credits, perhaps even aid. There are numerous indications that Communist leaders are therefore prepared to "try and make the Vietnam war as little embarrassing as possible."

It is thought that following the Moscow conference, the Soviets and their East European allies will feel freer to denounce Peking and less fearful of talk about a peaceful settlement. The UN might make it easier for this shift in Communist policy to occur; for example, a resolution could be introduced, so phrased that the Communist members of the UN would "have no choice but to accept," knowing full well that Peking would reject it. It might even be possible for all sides to agree that the war in Vietnam is indeed a "civil war," though it would not be possible for the Soviet Union and its allies to excuse the bombing of North Vietnam, which is "a member of the socialist families of nations."

Continuing and reliable reports are received here of cleavages in Hanoi between "the moderates" (among whom are counted not only Ho Chi Minh and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, but also General Giap), and "the hawks" – largely younger party bureaucrats in Hanoi and, of course, the Viet Cong leadership, which is more extreme than anyone and refuses any idea of negotiating now. That refusal, it is thought, rests in the Viet Cong's belief that negotiations would lead to a partitioning of Vietnam and to the return under Saigon's protection of the big landowners. After the Moscow conference, however, the "moderates" in Hanoi could gain the upper hand, knowing they have behind them all of the Communist movement other than that under Chinese sway. Thus, the view widely held in this almost empty East River skyscraper is that in the not-too-distant future, perhaps a month, two, three, the UN may again be called on to play a major role in efforts to persuade the warring parties to negotiate.



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# The Knifing of Abba Schwartz

The forced resignation last week of Abba P. Schwartz as Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, on the pretext of economy, brings to mind President Kennedy's description of the Department – a "bowlful of jelly." It is a reflection on Secretary Rusk, but also on President Johnson – via his slick, Texas assistant Marvin Watson, who, it is reliably reported, helped Deputy Undersecretary of State William J. Crockett draw up the simple reorganization plan by which only Abba Schwartz's job would be eliminated and all his employees absorbed elsewhere in State. Jay Sourwine, chief counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is to be forgiven for his role in this shabby affair. He simply has a vile job which he performs well. After months of interrogating Mr. Schwartz in closed session and sending him home with a list of 300 questions to answer, most of them irrelevant to his work at State, Sourwine was able to say cheerfully to colleagues on the Hill that he guessed Schwartz was OK.

Last November, Secretary Rusk came to Abba Schwartz's defense when Sourwine questioned Mr. Schwartz's friendship with several prominent Israeli diplomats, but chose not to save him from Crockett and some of his other employees, such as Frances Knight, who have had more rigid views on immigration and travel policies than Mr. Schwartz has espoused since his appointment in 1962.

The White House has said that the State reorganization plan had been in the works for six months or more. Abba Schwartz was not aware of it. If, for some reason or another, Mr. Schwartz's past services to the Kennedys eroded White House confidence in him, he could have long ago been let go. The Administrator of the Bureau is a political appointee and in office only at the sufferance of the Chief Executive; the President has had Mr. Schwartz's resignation since John Kennedy's death and only needed to accept it formally to be rid of him. He did not do so until the ax had fallen and the news of Schwartz's resignation was 48 hours old. Secretary Rusk, who has delegated most of his administrative authority in the Department, never deemed it appropriate to call in Abba Schwartz and say, "Abba, we don't need your services any longer, goodbye." Instead, a group of minor officials, led by Deputy Undersecretary Crockett, found it necessary to construct a reorganization plan based on a presidential order to economize as a pretext for squeezing a colleague out.

Some at State (lower echelon) have been after Abba Schwartz since he first set foot in his office. They had their reasons. Mr. Schwartz was the ablest man in international refugee resettlement affairs and the Department's most articulate and progressive force for a liberalized immigration policy. In private law practice in the 1950's he became one of the leading experts on refugee and immigration matters. He was an intimate friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's and was instrumental in bringing FDR's widow together with John F. Kennedy in a reconciliation meeting before Kennedy entered the White House. When Kennedy appointed him head of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Schwartz carried the endorsement of the late Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and one of the authors of the McCarran-Walter Act, under which the Bureau was set up in 1952. Before Schwartz's appearance, it had been the vehicle by which a number of McCarthyites rode into the Department and brutalized the foreign service and the career people at State "to clean up the mess."

Enjoying the confidence of Representative Walter, Abba Schwartz was able to reason with conservatives who were skeptical about the more enlightened thought on refugee and immigration issues personified by President Kennedy. Over the years Mr. Schwartz established numerous, useful connections in Washington, New York, Paris, Geneva, Saigon. He was the principal Administration architect of the 1965 amendments to the immigration laws, which went far toward removing the obnoxious and unfair quota system.

More recently, he had been involved in trying to retrieve more than 200 Americans held prisoner by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese and was described by State Department officials as the key link in these delicate discussions. He negotiated a program that has so far brought 10,000 or more Cuban refugees to this country. There are more secret assignments on which neither he nor the Department cares to comment. He had just returned from such an assignment when he learned that the reorganization plan William Crockett was touting as a "cost reduction" (about $300,000) would soon be sent to Congress. Although Mr. Schwartz had no prior knowledge of the Crockett plan, insiders at the Department say that there were calls from Crockett's administrative offices to lower-rank employees in Mr. Schwartz's office about it. And friends of Mr. Schwartz have for several months been warning him that something big was in the works and that he should be alert to the sharpening of the knives. He paid little attention to the rumors.

Mr. Schwartz's departure is not unrelated to his clashes over the years with Frances Knight, who has long had a firm grip on the Passport Division and who comes out of the reorganization rather neatly. Miss Knight is a hangover from McCarthy days. While at State, she did some extracurricular work for the Re-



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publican Party during the 1952 campaign. The following year, she was made an executive assistant to the first Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Robert W. Scott McLeod, now deceased. Before his State Department tour, Mr. McLeod was an FBI agent and an aide to Republican Styles Bridges of New Hampshire.

Back in 1955, Miss Knight won the plaudits of columnist Westbrook Pegler. "She bored into the State Department in the heyday of the Acheson-Hiss cabal," he wrote, "and actually was the source of most of the information which Joe McCarthy relied on in his original speech on traitors and perverts in State. They suspected her for a long time but she is beautiful and has a knack of seeming dumb." The end of this affair has not been reached. It is to be investigated, says Henry Reuss (D, Wis.), by the House Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization.

# Gas and Guerrillas—a Word of Caution

*"Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world; and*

*Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and*

*To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations; . . . the High Contracting Parties . . . accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare. . . ."* – From the Geneva Protocol, 1925

SAIGON, *February 21 – Helicopters dropped hundreds of tear-gas grenades today to douse a small patch of jungle – believed to be a fortified Viet Cong area – 265 miles northwest of Saigon in preparation for a bombing raid.* – The New York Times.

It is less than a year since our first news of the use by South Vietnamese troops of US-supplied tear and nausea gases ("A Door Best Kept Closed," *NR* April 3, 1965). It was then recalled that this country had not ratified the Geneva Protocol, and that "The United States is not a party to any treaty, now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or nontoxic gases, or smoke or incendiary materials, or of bacteriological warfare" (*Army Field Manual* FM 27-10, 1956). Nevertheless, many in Washington had assumed that our policy on chemical and biological (CB) weapons was still governed by President Roosevelt's no-first-use pledge of 1943. They were appalled to learn that this was no longer so, and that the use of incapacitating (nonlethal) gases had, according to the presidential press secretary, for some time been left to the discretion of area military commanders.

No further incidents of their use in Vietnam were reported in the next several months. Between March and September, articles favorable to combat use of nonlethal gases appeared in *Commonweal* (May 7, 1965), *Industrial Research* (August, 1965), and *Chemical and Engineering News* (August 16, 1965). In September, a US Marine battalion commander made unauthorized (by Saigon headquarters) use of tear gas in an operation against the Viet Cong. General Westmoreland was reported seeking from Washington a reversal of what apparently had been an interim ban. In October, US and Australian troops used tear gas against the Viet Cong, this time with explicit permission from Westmoreland. It was presented as a life-sparing tactic: Viet Cong suspects, some perhaps innocent, could be "flushed" from underground bunkers and tunnels other than with death-dealing explosives. The use of tear gas was said by an Army spokesman in January now to be at the discretion of commanders *in the field*. Tear gas was sprayed on guerrilla positions from helicopters in what was described as the first use of the agent by American troops on that large a scale. Viet Cong tunnels were seeded with crystals which slowly release nausea gas, thus rendering the tunnels unusable. The chemical was presumably "DM," an agent that incapacitates for a longer period than the tear gases, and has more prominent gastrointestinal effects.

It adds up to this: We have deliberately crossed the long-observed CB warfare threshold. We have taken small escalatory steps in the use of incapacitating gases; more may be in prospect. And we have done it with barely a ripple of protest, since March, 1965, from any but Communist nations.

In defense of incapacitating gases and other nonlethal CB agents, it is claimed that they are more "humane" than conventional incendiaries and explosives. This may be so in some cases. Such comparisons, however, generally assume nonlethal agents to be more predictably and uniformly benign than they are. It is impossible in the field to deliver any agent at a uniform dose level. Some individuals will receive too little of the



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agent to be harmed, others will receive sufficient to cause temporary incapacitation, while still others will be exposed to local concentrations high enough to produce serious disability or even death. Wide variations in local concentration can be expected, for instance, when tear gas is introduced into a network of tunnels – the recent accidental asphyxiation of an Australian soldier in Vietnam is a pointed reminder of this fact. Another variable is individual susceptibility: A chemical or biological agent mild in its effect on a healthy young adult may be disabling or lethal for the very young, the elderly, the malnourished, the ill.

The following is from the report of a working group of the Fourteenth Pugwash Conference (April, 1965), a gathering of eminent scientists from all parts of the world, including the US and the USSR: "The dangers to world security posed by all classes of biological and chemical weapons are closely interrelated. Both in public opinion and in military practice it does not appear to maintain any lasting distinction between incapacitating and lethal weapons, or between biological and chemical warfare. The great variety of possible agents forms a continuous spectrum, starting from those that are temporarily incapacitating and ending with highly lethal ones. If the restraints on the practice of any kind of biological and chemical warfare are broken down, the entire spectrum of these weapons may come into use."

*"General, you didn't tell us that stuff would make us all sick."*

The American arsenal currently includes such potent incapacitating agents as various mustards similar to the "mustard gas" of World War I, as well as the highly lethal nerve gases. Our armed forces are supplied with rockets, shells and mines containing the nerve gas Sarin, an agent which can kill rapidly after one inhalation. The Soviet Union and doubtless other nations possess the same or similar chemical weapons.

Biological agents which produce infectious disease are designed for attacks on large civilian populations. With these agents it is next to impossible to predict or control the effects. In most cases, disease will be spread widely by contagion; effective countermeasures are not likely to be available. When a microorganism is released in a previously unexposed population, the medical consequences can be catastrophically unpredictable. For instance in 1846 an epidemic of measles killed 35 percent of the population of Iceland.

The nuclear age has taught us the importance of observing thresholds. No nuclear weapon of any sort has been used in combat since 1945. Few would wish otherwise. Yet the US has crossed over a threshold of longer standing, for weapons potentially as destructive of life as nuclear bombs. As a consequence the proliferation of chemical-biological weapons is likely to occur more rapidly than the nuclear proliferation we are eager to prevent. There is scarcely a nation in the world that hasn't the means to amass large supplies of lethal agents.

The application of arms control in this field will be difficult. In contrast to nuclear weapons, CB agents can be developed and tested in small-scale facilities indistinguishable, even were they open to inspection, from laboratories engaged in conventional pharmacological and microbiological research. In a single vial might be stockpiled virulent microorganisms sufficient to kill millions. The US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is known to be grappling with problems such as these in an effort to draft proposals on CB weapons. But because of the ease of concealment in production and use of CB weapons, progress may come as readily through mutual example among nations as by explicit agreement. Thus our government could promptly take the following steps at no peril to national security: (1) stop using toxic chemicals in Vietnam, both antipersonnel and anticrop varieties; (2) ratify the Geneva Protocol or make an equivalent declaration of policy; (3) declassify CB warfare research.

DAVID SAVITZ, MD

*DR. SAVITZ is a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility.*



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# Can a Woman Be Feminine Forever?

"Must women tolerate castration?"

No, according to Dr. Robert A. Wilson, a Brooklyn gynecologist, who asked this question in his recent book *Feminine Forever*. In it he argues that if women take a prescribed dose of sex hormones they will not disintegrate into crones.

In his 40 years as a gynecologist, Dr. Wilson has had considerable clinical experience with menopause. Sometimes, his patients merely became deeply depressed on approaching this important time of change. In one instance, he had to take care of a middle-aged lady who was flinging herself from lover to lover in a final mad search for fulfillment before it was too late. Once a well-known Brooklyn gangster came into Dr. Wilson's office, pulled out a pistol, and demanded that the doctor do something to calm his wife, whom menopause had turned into a shrew. Dr. Wilson has been conscious of the sex revolution which is placing heavy demands on women to act younger as they grow older. And with an increasing number of women taking up important managerial positions in industry, he is worried about what can happen to their employees should the change of life turn the women into tyrants. Business could go down the drain. In his efforts to cope with menopause, Dr. Wilson has developed a hormone therapy which, in the past year, has received a good bit of attention. Half a dozen of the women's magazines have published rather complimentary pieces about his work. A paperback refering to his theories of estrogen treatment has come out. And this January, Dr. Wilson's *Feminine Forever* appeared.

An advertisement says: "*Feminine Forever* tells how to avoid menopause completely in your life, and stay a romantic, desirable, vibrant woman as long as you live. It shows how women who already have gone through the anguish of menopause can experience the phenomenon of Menopausal Reversal – and, without regaining the ability to bear children, grow *visibly younger* day by day until they are transformed into the exciting vibrant females they were before the 'change'!" After dealing with hundreds of cases, Dr. Wilson concluded menopause was a deficiency disease, caused by the running down of female sex glands that produce two hormones, estrogen and progesterone. This imbalance, he concluded, can be corrected by giving women doses of synthetic hormones in easy-to-take tablet form which will have the effect of keeping them looking and acting young and in general good health. If a woman gets the proper amount of these hormones, Dr. Wilson says, she need not have sagging breasts, shriveled genitals, a dowager's hump, poor bones and itchy skin. Nor will she need to suffer post menopausal gastrointestinal disorders, wretched headaches, hot flashes, night sweats, loss of memory, insomnia, all of which, he says, often affect women in and after menopause.

Moreover, Dr. Wilson believes his estrogen therapy may well find a general application among younger women who feel they lack femininity, that is women who perhaps feel their breasts are too small, who tend to get fat or are frigid.

To get an idea of a woman's hormone needs, Dr. Wilson has devised a Femininity Index. He takes a vaginal smear on a slide and puts it under a microscope. "Three different types of body cells are visible on the slide: superficial, intermediate and parabasal cells. The cytologist in his laboratory makes a careful count of all three cell types. This count answers one of the most crucial questions that ever confront a woman. It tells whether her body is still feminine, or whether it is gradually turning neuter. If 80 percent or more of the total cell counts are superficial cells, you can still rejoice in your full femininity – your body still retains all the qualities that make you a woman. If the count of superficial cells is less than 80 percent, it is a clear warning that your femininity is waning."

Throughout much of his therapy, Dr. Wilson administered his estrogen treatments in sequence, giving women first an estrogen drug, and then later on in their cycle, changing this to a progesterone. It induces bleeding, and thus simulates a period in women after menopause. Recently, however, he found certain kinds of birth control pills may be a way of making up women's estrogen deficiency. He stumbled onto this quite by chance, according to the book. Mrs. P.G., a woman of 52, came into his office one day in 1963 for a check-up. She had an erect carriage, good muscle tone, firm and supple breasts. Her skin was smooth and pliant as a girl's. Not even her neck was wrinkled. Dr. Wilson at once concluded she must be one of the relatively few women taking hormone treatment; he was wrong. She was, however, taking a certain birth control pill. "Soon, the logical connection between 'the pill' and the menopause prevention became clear in my mind," Dr. Wilson writes. "Chemically, there is a close relationship between the contents of contraceptive pills and the hormones employed in menopause therapy. In some pills the hormones are identical. One brand of birth control pills contains a combination of an estrogen (mestranol) and an estrogenic progestin (norethynodrel), both quite similar to the hormones (estrogen and a progestin) I had been using all along for menopause prevention. It so happened that Mrs. P.G. had



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been taking that particular type of pill. Without realizing it, her doctor had been prescribing menopause therapy. . . ."

"This estrogenic birth control pill provides a form of menopause prevention and treatment in addition to its contraceptive effect," he continued. "The chief difference is that in the usual type of menopause therapy estrogen and progestin are given in sequence during different phases of the menstrual cycle, whereas the birth control pill contains both estrogen and progestin in combination."

Dr. Wilson was at once struck by the possibilities. This previously unsuspected property of certain birth control pills, acting as a menopause preventive, could perhaps prove even more important than its principal purpose, he wrote. Six million people in this country take oral contraceptives.

"Immediately after my encounter with Mrs. P.G.," Dr. Wilson writes, "I began a systematic study of contraceptive pills as menopause preventives. On the basis of my findings, I can now confidently assert that no woman who uses estrogenic birth control pills (*i.e.*, pills containing norethynodrel) will ever experience menopause if she continues taking 'the pill' beyond her childbearing years."

The basis of this assertion lies in the results of a study Dr. Wilson ran on 82 women, ranging in age from 32 to 57 years, with an average age of 45.8. Of 27 patients who took birth control pills specifically to avoid menopause, 26 were completely successful, he says. They never developed menopausal symptoms. The single exception experienced only mild symptoms. The other patients in this group took birth control pills to relieve menopausal symptoms that had already set in. This proved to be effective in 93 percent of the cases. In all the 82 cases, Dr. Wilson said, there were no instances of systemic, breast or genital cancer.

And he says it now appears that estrogenic contraceptive pills accomplish three goals: they keep women estrogen-rich, cancer-proof and prevent menopause. However, Dr. Wilson does warn that under no circumstances should birth control pills be taken without a doctor's approval; the patient should be under a doctor's supervision.

### *Searle's Investigation*

In *Feminine Forever*, Dr. Wilson suggests that people who are interested in finding out more about menopause prevention inquire at the Wilson Research Foundation, Inc., a nonprofit organization based in New York City which he heads. His son, Robert A. Wilson Jr., is executive director. This is an independent organization that makes available pamphlets about estrogen, arranges for lectures to be made and provides doctors with technical information about estrogen therapy.

In his book, Dr. Wilson did not name the birth control pill he used in his study of 82 women. But he said recently the drug was Enovid, the oral contraceptive made by G. D. Searle & Co. He said he personally felt it to be superior for menopause disorders because of its combination of estrogenic progestin; Enovid is cited by name in literature the foundation sends out to doctors. This literature also mentions other hormone preparations. Among them are Premarin, an estrogen preparation made by Ayerst Laboratories, a division of American Home Products, and Provera, a progestin put out by Upjohn.

In its application for tax exemption, filed January 19, 1965, the Wilson Research Foundation showed contributions of about $34,000 in 1964. Of this total, about $31,350 came from the following: Searle Foundation (set up by the Searle family), $17,000; Ayerst, $8,700; and Upjohn, $5,600. Robert A. Wilson Jr. said both Searle and Ayerst made contributions in 1965.

Dr. Wilson stresses, however, that the foundation is completely independent. He says it is approaching several major pharmaceutical companies in hopes of enlisting financial support. And it wants help from businesses in allied fields, *i.e.*, sanitary napkin manufacturers.

The Food and Drug Administration has not generally cleared Enovid for any use but as an oral contraceptive. However, G. D. Searle & Co. said it has an investigational license to test Enovid in menopause prevention. A spokesman for the company says Dr. Wilson is one of its investigators. He has been given a supply of Enovid for this purpose. The company spokesman says Searle is helping to sponsor the Wilson Foundation's research, but he would not disclose how much money is involved. The Searle spokesman says Dr. Wilson is completely independent, and received no support whatever from the company in writing his book or in getting it published.

Dr. Wilson said a doctor could extend the indications for a drug's use on his own responsibility and that Enovid simply had the effect of combining in one pill several different drugs already on the market and available for menopause disorders.

There is concern in the government about possible side-effects from taking birth control pills. A special technical committee of the FDA is looking into the possibility of side-effects in the circulatory system. These include fatal clots, disabling clots and eye damage. In addition, there are fears that over a period of years the birth control pill may have a possible relation with cancer. One highly regarded expert at the National Institutes of Health says that in general Dr. Wilson's estrogen therapy presents very complicated medical problems that have not been resolved.

NANCY SOMMERS *and* JAMES RIDGEWAY



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# VISTA, on a Cloudy Day

Some of the loneliest posts in the War on Poverty are manned by VISTA volunteers, an improbable army of adolescents and grandparents and various gradations in between. At last count, there were 1,922 VISTAs (Volunteers in Service to America), scattered along the "front line" of the antipoverty campaign from Eskimo villages in Alaska to migrant workers' camps in Florida, in mental hospitals and Job Corps centers and the depths of urban ghettoes.

VISTA is not the biggest gun at the Office of Economic Opportunity; compared with the community action program, for instance, it is of rather small bore. But the idea of sending forth poverty fighters in crusading wave after wave from Washington has a special appeal for those who seek to attack the institutions which permit and encourage poverty. The question that many of them are beginning to ask is whether they will be allowed either targets or victories.

"When I started out I felt like a knight in shining armor. I was going to lead the people out of poverty and into the Great Society," one young California volunteer said. He came to VISTA last summer; now his sights are somewhat lower. And despite some advance warning to that effect during a short training period volunteers are largely ill-prepared for what happens to them.

Their problem, and VISTA's, is largely one of definition. It is almost impossible to describe what VISTA is or what the volunteers are supposed to be doing on a national scale. That is not necessarily a killing disability, but it does lead to frustration. "In any war there are lots of needs," said Daniel Thursz, who is a new VISTA associate director, and a sort of official theoretician. "We're not true believers. There is not *one* way to fight poverty." In fact the concept of a national service corps, or a "domestic Peace Corps" did not have its origins in the poverty war at all. It was part of the Kennedy Administration's plan to infuse America – particularly young America – with a new *zeitgeist*, to "get the country moving again." But politics took precedence over spirit; the concept was picked dry and buried in 1963 by Iowa's fierce Republican watchdog, Rep. H. R. Gross, and dug up in the last week of polishing the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964. Title VI of the Act said there would be a VISTA, and the bureaucrats sat around for months thinking up things for it to do.

What they came up with, after rather long delays, was a fine plan for recruiting, training, supplying, paying and supervising great numbers of idealistic volunteers – for the use of others. All volunteers are assigned to local agencies: city administrative agencies, community action boards, hospitals, Indian tribal councils, Job Corps camps, preschools, welfare departments, settlement houses, neighborhood organizations, courts of law and a lot more categories. There are now 215 local and private agencies with VISTA; there will be 350 such projects soon. Volunteers get "subsistence" wages and a small allowance, but the program is more expensive than it sounds; it is calculated that volunteers get about $4,200 a year in pay, goods, services and benefits. For the most part, they are young, although there are jobs for the very old, too.

There is no lack of demand for volunteers, but there is a problem of finding the best agencies to which they will attach themselves. VISTA officials constantly fight the "numbers game" – the pressure to put a great many people into as many programs as possible in the shortest amount of time. But in the absence of a VISTA strategy for attacking poverty, it is impossible to tell what the proper projects are. Is the idea of VISTA to help the poor gain power in their communities? Is it to provide services for poor people? Is it to motivate the poor to help themselves? Or is it, at bottom, a way to expose middle-class volunteers to poverty, in hopes that they will then be more socially useful citizens?

As it is now, volunteers do a lot of "good work" without knowing how it is all contributing to changing the conditions which cause poverty. It is hard for officials to assign priorities: no one is sure whether it is better to put 20 volunteers to work organizing rent strikes in Harlem or assign them to the New York City housing board to inspect slum conditions. The method of assigning volunteers to local agencies smoothes political and administrative lines, but might the impact be greater if the attacks were concentrated on one or two problems (those of migrant workers or Indians, for instance), or in narrower geographic confines? Some volunteers think that VISTA should have its own projects – run independently of local groups so as to avoid politics.

But as a government agency, VISTA is circumscribed. Officials have to live with the veto power Congress gave to state governors over VISTA projects. There have to be local sponsoring agencies and they must be placated. Already, VISTA has been snarled in political hassles. Thirty-eight volunteers in Newark were dismissed by the city administration which had hired them; presumably, they were "getting in the way." Six of the youths wanted to stay in a Newark slum and work with a "community union" helping Negroes to organize an activist group. VISTA gritted



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its teeth and for a time considered the possibility of accepting the union, which was founded by members of the Students for a Democratic Society, as a sponsoring agency. Finally, however, "technical omissions" were found in the group's application form, and it was denied (four of the volunteers quit VISTA, two were banished to other cities). Privately, officials said it would be "highly unlikely" that volunteers could ever work with such social action groups because of their tendency to support "political candidates." "VISTA is not interested in political change," said Glenn Ferguson, the VISTA director. Instead, it encourages a kind of "cultural change."

But the presence of volunteers nearly always has a political effect, even if the reasons for their assignments are nonpolitical. The 38 volunteers in Newark were quite clearly political instruments. So were a group of VISTAs in southern New Jersey, who complained that their programs were being ignored because of an election campaign. Many volunteers work for community action boards, which in every city in the country are enmeshed with local politics. In the biggest cities – Chicago and New York, for example – the politics of antipoverty agencies are big-time and reach as high as the White House.

In its first year of operation, VISTA has had its muddles and mistakes, and critics are perhaps too quick to point to them as evidence of the failure of the idea. Many volunteers are wasted, by any test of value; one girl wound up acting as an interior decorator for a settlement house director, another volunteer turned out to be a glorified chauffeur for his agency chief. Many more are involved in busy work, and some in not very much work at all.

More serious is the deficiency of their training and supervision. The VISTA program is primarily a one-year stint (volunteers can reenlist if they want). Training is for six weeks, but by everyone's standards it is inadequate. But how can it be otherwise? Training for what? The difficulties of preparing middle-class volunteers to work with the poor in a constructive way are enormous. And once on the job, the volunteers rarely get the kind of help they need from their sponsors – many of whom are part of the old system of welfare and settlement-house work which the new volunteers would like to change. Now VISTA is beginning to hold regular volunteer conferences, so that the workers may be able to make some sense of their experiences.

By the end of June there will be 3,000 volunteers. A year later, there will be 4,500. No doubt the number will grow thereafter, and the presence of all those people in poverty pockets around the country is bound to make some difference. In the most primitive areas – among the Eskimos, or in isolated rural communities – the volunteers are providing services and a contact with the rest of the world that no one else has done. It is not a question of "extra staff for understaffed social agencies" as it may be in some large urban settings. In the places where young VISTAs work with the young poor – in a semi-recreational way – there are immediate benefits; dropouts are dropped back into a more constructive life. For the elderly poor, or the mentally ill or retarded, and to a large extent the rural poor, no amount of "community action" can make a difference in their lives; they need the kind of simple, individual attention that VISTAs, and very few others, are willing to provide.

At such levels the expense and the bureaucracy of VISTA are justified. But it is "overselling" VISTA (as one of the early task-force members recently said) to claim that it is a major contribution to ending poverty in the US. The poor need money, jobs and power on a large scale; all three require equally large-scale shifts in the political and economic relationships of the poor and the rest of society. The built-in restraints on VISTA's activities will make it difficult for the volunteers to work for very much more than incremental changes and benefits for the poor.

The unique role of VISTA, increasingly, will be not so much what it will do for the poor as what it will teach others – the volunteers and the Washington officials – about poverty. The antipoverty war is first of all a process of learning. It was only a few years ago that most Americans began to wonder what was going on in their own cities among the "invisible" underclass of the poor. The best way to find out how the poor got that way, and what it might take to change their lives, is to work with them, as the volunteers do.

"Most of us didn't know what we were getting into," a VISTA girl from a small town in the Midwest said a few weeks ago. "The first thing that happened was that we found out how bad life can be. I guess that's the first step. I hope in a year we can find out what the second one is."

ANDREW KOPKIND

COMING: *Alex Campbell on our growing military presence in Thailand and what it means*



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# "Our" War, "Their" Peace

## *Who Wants What in South Vietnam?*

### *by Alex Campbell*

*Saigon*

The Ky government says loudly it will beat the Viet Cong, never negotiate with them. Off the record, Saigon officials are much less brash; and the South Vietnamese army as well as civilians want peace very much. All the more surprising, then, to find the Americans here insisting that the Viet Cong will be licked, and the Viet Cong's political "infrastructure" in the two-thirds of the countryside the Viet Cong more or less control will be "rooted out." If the Americans, irrespective of their real beliefs, were going along in public with the Ky propaganda line, it would be understandable: the Ky government needs sustaining badly and may have disappeared before these words are in print. But the Americans want victory more fervently than do the South Vietnamese. This is one measure of the degree to which the war has become "our" war. The Americans are aware that, behind its brazen public front, the regime of Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky is full of doubts; the American reaction is to say, bitterly, that the war can be won in the countryside but lost in Saigon.

Our officials in Saigon may be right to think we can win. But the price of military victory over the Viet Cong needs weighing. It would entail a permanent US military presence and the permanent partition of Vietnam (there are still two American divisions in Korea). And "digging out" the Viet Cong could conceivably lead to imposing on the people of South Vietnam, *for the second time* under US auspices, a rule of terror as ruthless as the Communists are said to have created.

Prime Minister Ky has promised to eliminate Communist influence from the South, except for a "very small number" of political cadres, by the end of 1967. Most non-American observers in Saigon greatly doubt Ky can do it. Their view is that sooner or later a war-weary South and an exhausted North Vietnam will consent to a cease-fire, involving or resulting in withdrawal of Northern regiments from the South and the setting up in the South of a coalition government to include the Viet Cong's "National Liberation Front." This is not a very cheerful picture in view of the current situation in Laos, where fighting continues despite attempts at coalition. A variant of the theory is that the Front will be recognized as a political party, like the Communist Party in France, Italy and other countries, but will not enter the government until it wins enough National Assembly seats in national elections. Then, of course, it might win enough seats to form the whole government, but at least the fighting would stop, which is what the mass of the people want.

It is easier to talk to South Vietnamese, including high government officials, about such possibilities than to discuss them with the Americans in Saigon, who speak only of another five years' military campaigning followed by five years of "rooting out" the Viet Cong from the villages. They say this is necessary to prevent China gobbling up Asia, and is the equivalent of what the US did in Europe in Stalin's day. Some express terror that "LBJ" will knuckle under to world opinion," or listen to U Thant, and wonder if the folks back home have gone soft.

The South Vietnamese are much less inclined to such global analogies. Perhaps they are being parochial, but they are primarily interested in preserving their country. There may well come a point beyond which the South Vietnamese will not go in support of American "containment" of Communism in Asia. The monthly desertion rate from the South Vietnamese regular army has increased significantly, from 8.3 per 1,000 in 1964 to 17.8 per 1,000 last December. It is said that many "deserters" only go back to their villages for a while then reenlist. Nevertheless if the rate of desertion from the 225,000-man regular army doesn't slow down it means serious trouble. Among civilians, there's increasing reluctance to share the country with "foreigners" – by whom they don't mean Viet Cong or Northerners. And many members of Saigon's middle class – most of whom *are* Northerners – don't seem to feel it would be impossible for them, if the worst happened, to adapt to a Communist regime (900,000 fled from the North and the Communists, but since then have experienced both Diem's oppressive regime, and accelerating war).

Most pointedly, they don't fear China, having a pos-



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sibly inflated opinion of a united Vietnam's ability to make its weight independently felt in Southeast Asia. Thus it's by no means impossible that the present rather precarious "Directory" of military officers who rule South Vietnam will give way to a civilian administration with markedly different ideas about the future. It would very likely have the support of both the Buddhists, who deplore the "fratricidal war," and the Catholics – the lips of the Archbishop of Saigon are prudently sealed but there are said to be Catholic priests not only in Viet Cong territory but in the Liberation Front.

Hanoi isn't in a mood to negotiate, as we all have heard, but it's no secret in Saigon that the North Vietnamese leadership was divided over negotiations during Shelepin's visit to Hanoi. The North Vietnamese economy is badly frayed. Few non-Americans in Saigon believe that Hanoi will always insist on the National Liberation Front being acknowledged by the US and Saigon as the "sole" representation of the South Vietnamese people.

Meanwhile, the Viet Cong have some cards to play before *they* soften their terms. There are about 63,000 Viet Cong soldiers, 100,000 village militia, 17,000 people keeping supplies moving down the jungle trails and 40,000 political cadres. In addition there are said to be between 17,000 and 20,000 regular-army soldiers from North Vietnam in the South, and according to General William C. Westmoreland, their rate of infiltration has risen from 1,800 to 4,500 a month, just as the Mansfield Report said it would. These well-trained and well-equipped new soldiers from the North may have intended to fight fairly large pitched battles but are now hesitating because of the increased size and strength of the US forces; they aren't very good at guerrilla fighting, don't know the country and often get lost. They are fighting in the highlands of central Vietnam, while the guerrillas attack American posts near Saigon and elsewhere.

The main Viet Cong forces moving from Pleiku toward Darlac, in the highlands, may have *Fulro* in view. *Fulro* is the political organization of South Vietnam's Montagnards, tribal highlanders who number about a million people, speak 27 languages, are unhappy about Saigon's rule and have been offered autonomous status by the Communists. Their main stronghold is Darlac province near the Cambodian border. Montagnard dissatisfaction and aspirations obviously create problems for the South Vietnamese government, which has appointed belatedly a "Special Commissioner" for Montagnard affairs. He is a Montagnard. But the attitude of the average South Vietnamese toward the tribal highlanders is like that of many American Southerners to Negroes; they say the Montagnards would be happy with their present lot if it weren't for "outside agitators," by whom they mean not just the Communists but also the Americans, who at Honolulu twisted the South Vietnamese arm over the Montagnards.

### *A Long, Long War*

General Westmoreland and other top American military are making no rash predictions; they think the fighting in South Vietnam will continue a long time yet. In spite of *Chieu Hoi*, or "Open Arms" – the psychological warfare program that offers amnesty to Viet Cong defectors – the rate of defection of Viet Cong soldiers, actual fighting men not just terrified villagers, is only about one-eighth the rate of desertion from the South Vietnamese regular army (about 500 a month compared to 4,000 a month). Both rates are going up, but the South Vietnamese army rises faster. The American plan is to keep bombing the North (though this seems to accelerate, not decelerate, infiltration), make US bases and South Vietnamese towns more secure, build more roads, railways, ports and airfields, and smash a way into the big base areas, most of them honeycombed with tunnels and underground hospitals, that the Viet Cong have maintained for 10 or even 20 years close to Saigon as well as in the jungles and mountains. The theory is that, eventually, the peasants who are now supposed to be neutral will throw their support to the winning side.

But which is the winning side? No doubt the Viet Cong would find it hard to survive if the mass of the people turned actively against them, but meantime they seem to have no difficulty being sheltered, whereas the government side and the Americans get very little intelligence or other help from the people, and as soon as they withdraw from an area, as they frequently must through sheer lack of manpower, the Viet Cong are back in charge immediately. Eventually, the US military machine hopes to grind its way like a bulldozer through the Viet Cong base areas, clearing them so that the Vietnamese will be "encouraged" to move in and try to woo the populace with "rural reconstruction programs," renamed – post-Honolulu – "revolutionary development." Meantime the bulldozer jams sometimes: one disgruntled GI has been quoted as saying that "the sneaky little devils come up out of their tunnels and ambush us from all sides."

Once an area has been cleared, it still has to be pacified. What this means depends on who's telling it. The current American ideal of pacification is to have hordes of American advisers, the best that federal government money can buy, instructing not just the Saigon government but every provincial chief on how to improve farming methods, create a schooling system and eradicate disease. Proponents admit this virtually



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means a beneficent American occupation of South Vietnam but demand to know how the US dare call itself a world power if it won't accept such responsibilities. In the wake of Honolulu, American experts have plunged into the South Vietnamese countryside, surveying, interviewing and note-taking, and are supposed to produce their recommendations by June.

The actual American program of pacification is more modest than the ideal, mainly for lack of funds. The first step, it is said, is to "secure" the area that has been cleared of Viet Cong guerrillas or other Communist soldiers. That means moving in police and local military to deal with the Viet Cong "political cadres" who are sure to be still there, either hiding or pretending to be ordinary villagers. The cadres have to be eliminated. When that has been accomplished, village leaders and provincial chiefs will be exhorted not to push the people around. An instance given me was that policemen searching buses for Viet Cong suspects must act politely, instead of using their gun butts on the butts of the passengers, as they do now. Thus the peasants will be made aware that they are at last receiving "social justice."

The third step is creating schools, bridges and other amenities, but these should be built by the peasants themselves. Then, I was told, if the Viet Cong blow them up, the peasants will declare angrily, "They have blown up *our* bridge," whereas had it been built for them they would only shrug and murmur, "Ah, what a shame, the American bridge has been destroyed." An exception is public health, for there are only 900 doctors in South Vietnam (600 of whom are in the armed forces), and peasants can't build dispensaries or give themselves medical training.

Finally, pacification means raising living standards, by starting new industries like fisheries as well as increasing farm yields through fertilizer and irrigation. What about social and economic reforms? The rich, it's said in reply, must part with 60 percent of their wealth, in order to keep the rest. It is not explained how this is to happen; one is told merely that it will take a long time. Land reform? The "man behind the bullock" is described as not being much concerned with owning land; he just wants his landlord to be nicer to him. The very brief reference to land reform in the Declaration of Honolulu is said to have been inserted only at the last moment at the urging of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman.

The notion that the peasants are indifferent to land reform contradicts all Vietnamese experience. The Viet Cong got most of their countryside support by seizing land and redistributing it. The South Vietnamese government has put a ceiling on land ownership of 100 *hectares*, but this is a very high ceiling in a country where a peasant is lucky to own even half a *hectare*. Most of the large farms are in "insecure" areas now, *i.e.*, in the hands of the Viet Cong. The South Vietnamese government says when it gets those areas back it will allow the owners to retain only three to five *hectares* for their own use, and compel them to rent out the rest, at controlled rents; and the peasants won't be asked to pay rents or taxes for the period the area was VC-controlled. But peasants who are now tilling those lands may fail to welcome back their old landlords on any terms. The South Vietnamese government also proposes to distribute land to squatters and others and allow them 12 years in which to pay for it, and to assist them with credits, seed, fertilizer and irrigation, in a "broad package." Meanwhile the land problem is exacerbated by the existence of a million or so war refugees, of whom about half are still homeless and jobless and are the concern of a new "Special Commissioner for Refugees."

"Revolutionary development" is the responsibility of General Nguyen Duc Thang, a burly, young army officer who proposes to help local military and police "secure" areas that the American GIs have cleared of Viet Cong, by sending in his "political action teams" whose 25,000 membership is soon to be at least doubled. Some Americans who are enthusiastic about paci-

*"I don't want land reform. It's been reformed too much already."*



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fication seem to think the PATs will act as a kind of South Vietnamese Peace Corps, mainly interested in promoting good farming and improving the schooling in the "cleared" areas. Foreign Minister Do, however, admiringly describes the PATs as "mainly war veterans – tough anti-Communists." General Thang's PATs may "pacify" the areas the Americans turn over to them by grimmer means than showing farmers how to plant rice or giving candy to the kids. Prime Minister Ky confessed in February, "Some of the people, I admit, are still a little suspicious." The war veterans have been known to make their first order of business securing the rice harvests of absentee landlords, then stealing peasants' pigs and using their cooking pots for spittoons or worse. They may be influenced less by the example of the Peace Corps than by current CIA practices in Vietnam, which are known to include bribing provincial chiefs and are suspected to include tortures and assassinations.

### *Life in the Capital*

Saigon is a slummy, very ill-smelling town with a war-swollen population now estimated at three million. It suffers from muffled explosions – the war is only a few miles away – and rumors of plague which have broken out. The city retains a remarkable cheerfulness and equanimity in the circumstances. It has a cathedral and Catholic schools, and pretty black-haired high school girls bicycle serenely about the streets, in and out of the streams of ancient black Renaults, US Army jeeps and trucks, and klaxon-blaring Honda motor-bikes. In spite of the war, Saigon has a daily three-hour siesta, commencing at noon; offices close at six or 6:30. (The Americans work a 12-hour day, seven days a week.) Saigon also, with US approval, exploits the farmers, who are expected to feed the city with rice at unchanged prices, even though all other prices are soaring 50 percent per year. It is explained that if the farmers were paid more, the Viet Cong would just tax them more, so to deny the farmers a higher rice price actually helps the war effort. What Saigon's rich save on rice they spend on jewels and gold; the Finance Secretary, Professor Tran Van Kien, says between $30 million and $40 million disappears annually into the foreign-exchange black market, to buy gold. He frankly admits that everyone with capital is trying to get his money out of the country.

The Saigon authorities refuse to be depressed by all this and are full of pride and sensitivity. Prime Minister Ky was pleased to attend a "summit meeting" with President Johnson, but insists the US has only a "secondary role" in South Vietnam and that Honolulu merely confirmed what he had already decided was the best policy for his country. He says he doesn't care for politics and won't be a candidate in the elections envisaged for 1967. Any apparent differences he has with the Americans are entirely due to "linguistic difficulties," and anyhow, the press "grossly exaggerates" them. Senator Robert Kennedy's view that the National Liberation Front ought to be included in peace negotiations ignores the fact that the Front isn't national, doesn't liberate anyone, is "1,000 percent Communist so let's not talk about it any more from now on." Ky admits South Vietnam has suffered from "corruption, disappointment and mismanagement" but says things will go better now.

Above all, Ky claims that "for the first time in two years, after five governments and four *coups*, we have enjoyed a period of stability," and that "I think the present government has, by and large, the confidence of the people." Here's the rub. The government, within its own limitations, tries hard. It has some able members (most of them Northerners). Ky holds press conferences; the chairman of the "Directory" of ruling generals, General Nguyen Van Thieu, addresses open-air meetings dedicated to "a new democratic society." But Ky's answers to questions at his press conferences are received in skeptical silence, and Thieu's open-air rallies are attended only by well-drilled groups of school teachers and civil servants. Military bands play. Girl choirs sing. The well-drilled platoons applaud, though briefly. The general public stays away. They will not be surprised if the government falls or is overthrown. They will not be sorry, or particularly glad. They are waiting to see who is going to win, or preferably end, the war.

Of the nine generals who compose the "Directory," only four really count: each controls an army corps. Ky is only a figurehead. No one general has yet managed to take over the show, but behind a display of unanimity there is much rivalry. The generals are targets of malicious rumor. It is said, for instance, that their wives are all shrewd businesswomen, busily making fortunes "selling" transfers to provincial chiefs who ask to be moved to safer districts. No evidence exists of such goings on. The generals' wives appear to engage in nothing more sinful than the social chatter appropriate to their tiny Frenchified world. But dull facts don't stop rumors.

On behalf of the "Directory" (officially, the National Leadership Committee), chairman Thieu on February 3 signed a directive to establish an Advisory Council for the Building of Democracy, to include "representatives of all nationalist political tendencies." The Advisory Council's job, the directive explained, is to draft a constitution, an electoral law, and "regulations concerning political parties and the press." The Council will meet four times a year, and its members will be "immune from arrest or prosecution, unless



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charged with treason," that is, showing Viet Cong sympathies. Since the French bequeathed Vietnam no political structure, there are only pressure groups, like the Buddhists. If the government doesn't do what they want, they overthrow it, then wait to see how the next government acts. When there are no anti-government demonstrations, everyone feels uneasy. "Demonstrations are better than apathy!" one Vietnamese intellectual exclaimed to me. This may change, if there are elections. But it will take time for the Vietnamese to get used to politics. Ky points out that from 1946 to 1954, Ho Chi Minh wielded a double-edged sword. He ably fought the French, but also ruthlessly eliminated every other Vietnamese party but his own – as Diem also did, from 1955 until his fall in 1963.

The French believe that in spite of Honolulu talk of "revolutionary development," the Americans are backing in South Vietnam a right-wing government without popular support. It would be more charitable and probably truer to say the US is backing an anti-Communist *junta* it hopes can be transformed gradually into something both more efficient and less unpopular, as may be happening in South Korea. This suggests its corollary: permanent partition and a permanent US military presence. Moreover, in order to see social justice done, the US may have to impose the same sort of changes the Viet Cong have achieved by force in their areas. General Edward G. Lansdale, chief US adviser to the South Vietnamese government, wants Saigon to abide by the Viet Cong's land reforms. Why then endeavor to kill or eliminate the Viet Cong?

American officials in Saigon are obviously bothered by the contradiction of bombing and burning villages, then stressing the need to gain popular support. In the end they fall back on a simple declaration that the US must "win" here, by whatever means, to discourage the Communists from trying to stage "wars of national liberation" elsewhere. The South Vietnamese do not see the problem in quite those terms. If that is the basic US premise, many of them argue, then the Buddhist leader, the Venerable Thich Tam Chau, is right when he says Vietnam is being used as a laboratory, and the Vietnamese are sacrificial guinea pigs in an international experiment. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Tran Van Do, and a Buddhist priest in a village near the Cambodian border, both say that "the primary task is to survive." That doesn't necessarily mean peace at any price. But if the present Saigon government won't talk to the Viet Cong, the people are likely to try to get one that will.

## CONCLUDING COMMENT ON THE "YOUNG RADICALS"

# Gideon's Army and Moynihan's Pros

*by Paul Seabury*

It is easier to see where these "young radicals" who have spoken in these pages came from, than to know where they want to go, and why. The good Marxist in Mother Bloor's day, like authentic New Dealers, was inspired by one big thing: to seize the engines of power and remake the nation. That was one reason, I suspect, why young American Leftist students in the 1930's could never bring themselves to really hold FDR in contempt – he had the power they wanted, and he used it so magnificently! That was also one reason why doctrinaire debates among liberal Democrats, democratic Socialists, Trotskyites and Stalinists were so serious and sharp then: there was the sweet smell of the fruits of success wafting out of the future. Success meant power, so why not figure out what use to make of it, right now?

What does it mean when the Left seemingly no longer yearns for power but seemingly exalts powerlessness? I say this tentatively, being skeptical of human nature – obviously there are some in the New Left who will fink out and end up enjoying the Estab-

Paul Seabury, *a professor of political science at the University of California (Berkeley) and currently a visiting Research Scholar at Harvard's Center of International Affairs, is the author of* Power, Freedom and Diplomacy. *He was national vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, 1962-65.*



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lishment power they now do not esteem. But the conventional ideology of the New Left seems both resigned to the fact that power has come to stay, that it is too revolting to seize – or in any event, it is not worth seriously arguing out in advance what is to be done with power, since this only leads to quarrels and thus damages the feeling of togetherness which movement always inspires.

### *Those "Irrelevant Distractions"*

I am puzzled by the style of existentialist "issue orientation" of the New Left – *i.e.*, a kind of "waiting for something outrageous to turn up," or its variant, "waiting for something to turn down." The objects of indignation which the New Left selects are as selective, in their way, as those of the New Right. As collectivity it appears to cherish dissent, free speech and constitutional due process; still the New Left does not disavow elements in its leadership publicly committed to movements and organizations known to hold these values in contempt, except as tactical devices when beneficial to themselves. Cherishing political freedom and self-determination for some, regardless of consequences, the New Left is singularly silent about applying it to others. Self-determination is great for some Asian nationalists, except Tibetans, but no word about East Europeans and Germans. Adolph Hitler, to all accounts dead, is remembered as though he were alive; though Walter Ulbricht, who is all too alive, is ignored as though dead. One can get up a good rally to protest the parliamentary opponents of the West German government's lengthening of the statute of limitations with respect to unpunished war criminals, but remain silent to the fact that the Soviet Union today teems with thousands of aging Stalinist Eichmanns, cogs of *that* system, and no public due-process trial of any of them ever reported. (Let bygones be bygones!) Selective vindictiveness is a virtue peculiar to the pure in heart, though only recently it was the purists of the New Right who got the lion's share of mass-media coverage.

I make these particular points first, knowing full well that the melancholy recital of them is probably unfair to many in the New Left who regard them as irrelevant distractions from matters at hand around the Great Society Barbecue, and who as realists (in this instance, anyhow) do not wish to look deeply into the credentials or motives of those who choose to cooperate effectively with them on the home front.

There is little doubt that the Southern civil rights movement, and its Northern aspect in urban poverty pockets, are the twin crucibles of the New Left. There are probably few in its leadership who have been personally untouched by this experience. It is to the New Left probably what the Spanish Civil War was to the Old Left of the 1930's, except that very possibly no disenchantment such as that which gave rise to Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* has occurred in this case. Like the Spanish Civil War, it also is probably an "unsharable experience" – an orientation program which has deeply affected their outlook on society in general and given justification to their style of direct action.

A Bogalusa syndrome, and its Northern equivalent, a Harlem syndrome, provide interesting perspectives on American society. Here, where for so long nothing was done, or seemed possible to do, most Americans regarded these as marginal "exceptions" to the American dream and promptly disregarded them. Now after generations of genteel evasion, we are told by the New Left that these are the very touchstones of the American experience. Whether the previous silence of evasion, or the present obsession, provides accurate measure to the state of American culture seems beside the point. An important question is: are Bogalusa and Harlem to become self-confirming hypotheses about American society? Do prescriptions for action in Bogalusa and Harlem provide clear prescriptions also for action in American society writ large? It is exactly at this point that we see both the significance and the ideological irrelevance of the New Left.

Here also we come to an essential point where the gulf between Establishment liberal and the Bogalusa Disestablishmentarians seems greatest, and where the language of one passes by that of the other, and no dialogue seems at present possible. An illustration may help. Mr. Daniel Moynihan wrote a little piece a few weeks ago in *The Public Interest* called "The Professionalization of Reform." In it he argued in effect that professional reformers (Students for a Democratic Society: read Establishment) henceforth will resolve the "more primitive social issues of American politics." Everywhere, he says, quoting Kenneth Lynn, "the professions are triumphant." It was Washington professionals who "discovered" American poverty. "War on poverty was not declared at the behest of the poor." Henceforth, *ceteribus paribus*, the case for public action will be made based upon "essentially esoteric information about the past and probable future course of events." The provision, for instance, of the Economic Opportunity Act that community action programs be carried out with the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor themselves, was, he says, an invention of professional bureaucrats. Mr. Moynihan is saddened by this, for if this continues to be the case, he says, one price will be a "decline in the moral exhilaration of public affairs at the domestic level." That would be to put it mildly. Even if future exhilaration might come to a few competent professionals, who because of this new situation are left free to turn to "issues more demanding of human ingenuity than that



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of how to put an end to poverty," this newer frontier, one suspects, will also be the game preserve of professionals.

At exactly the moment in time when this civilian Pentagon of social reform is flexing Herculean muscles, the New Left either couldn't care less or is outraged by the spectacle. It is perhaps unnecessary to recall to *New Republic* readers the basic thesis of the New Left's ideology: that the existing establishment – in either its public or private aspects – is akin to the stereotype University of California – a "smoothly humming factory," a "nightmare" designed to pervert human beings into service to the State. (SDS in fact was a creation of the liberal trade-union establishment, sired by the League for Industrial Democracy with large financial contributions from old social-democratic unions, United Auto Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and others.)

It is the conventional doctrine of the New Left, like that of the Old Right (and of Thomas Jefferson for that matter), that big institutions are both insensitive and their motives suspect. Yet the New Left goes a bit further – they are also evil, precisely in that they seek to co-opt the disengaged, the alienated and the uncommitted, into the main stream of things – the very ones the New Left seems to want to co-opt to its own purposes. One might then wonder – why all the action in civil rights to integrate?

### *Posture or Power?*

Can a Bogalusa serve as prototype for the nation as a whole? It is a strange experience to ruminate on some of the New Left's prescriptions, if, like a Kantian, one is concerned about their logical implications for the larger American policy. "Police forces should be elected by residents." An intriguing idea – how would majoritarian elections of police work in most of the South? For that matter, what would such a posse look like and how would it behave in certain high crime areas in Brooklyn? Neighborhood courts, with jurisdiction over "behavior of municipal, state and federal agencies" – how would that work in large parts of the South, and some Birch-blighted Northern suburbs? All university decisions to be made by students and faculty alone – who would pay *that* bill? Computerized referenda on "national issues like war" – what would that have meant back in MacArthur's time? Only Hitler experimented seriously with plebescitarian fancies like that.

It may well be that the device of poverty communities to engage the "maximum feasible participation of the poor" may have given to the New Left an idea which can have an extremely high energizing effect among many in America's slum ghettoes. Yet I sniff the stale scent of Ludditism in this idea when generalized as a principle for "returning power to the people," to give them a sense of meaningful involvement in a society which seems to some very impersonal and alienating. Gandhi toyed with the idea in India; conservative Southern agrarians, including intellectuals like Robert Penn Warren, wrote a lot about it in the early 1930's. But it is a static and confining principle, incongruous in a society which since Tocqueville's time has devised a high level of occupational and geographic mobility, and which has not admired cultural ghettoes and strategic hamlets as a way of life, or seriously sought to preserve the nostalgic togetherness depicted in *Our Town*. It may be, of course, that some would wish to see in such new communities a kind of anticulture, to which Great Society dropouts could retire; but this, too, has not worked with notable success in the past, as Brooke Farm and similar experiments have shown.

It is a paradox which does not seem to have occurred to some participants in 20th-Century revolutions that "successful" ones – *i.e.*, those which actually seize and retain power – always end up as strong as or stronger than the order they overthrew; as strong, because in such a contest the revolution wins because it is more powerful; even stronger, because the revolution never liquidates the machinery of power which it captures – but simply infuses it with its own power and revolutionary zeal. One would wish that by now more intelligent people would be aware of this rudimentary political fact, especially those whose revolutionary zeal exploits the natural aversion which many men have to authority and to distant, impersonal power, as a means of capturing it for their own uses.

If I take it correctly, at least some of the American New Left seem to be aware of this, and perhaps it is for this reason that what some of them seek is not power *per se*, but finding a defiant posture to hold in facing a power which probably can't be overthrown or which one does not really want to unseat. Yet such posturing can become ridiculous when one makes such a virtue of powerlessness. While Acton did say that all power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely, it is not demonstrable that absolute impotence purifies absolutely, and that simply because people are incompetent (or deprived) they are for that reason "better" than the competents. The social problem is how to make them competent.

There is, after all, something to be said for Mr. Moynihan's professionals. It is a rather complex job to keep a nation of 190 million people together – much more to keep the thing in motion, thinking ahead to the time when it may be twice as large. Most people who think about it long enough will not want to be led around either by young aristocratic revolutionaries or by middle-aged professional *fonctionnaires;* nor, one might add, by a combination of the two, led by the former.



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# *The Trial Ends...*

*by Jeri L. Laber*

> "'Are you arresting me?'
> "The two plainclothesmen shyly hung their heads in silence. I was not aware of having done anything wrong but I realized that those above knew better and I humbly waited for my fate."

The writer of the story in which this passage appears was arrested in Moscow last fall and on February 14, after a four-day trial unprecedented in Soviet legal and literary history, sentenced to seven years at hard labor. Andrei Sinyavsky's crime was the publication abroad, under the pseudonym of Abram Tertz, of literature considered hostile to the Soviet regime.

The writings of Tertz, which have been known in the West since 1959, further testify to the existence of a body of underground literature in the USSR which is virtually unknown to any reading public. It is created not for publication or for secret political agitation but "for the desk drawer." During Stalin's time, those who wrote "for the drawer" ran great risks, never knowing when the drawer might be pried open. Public condemnation, exile or imprisonment were sure to follow. In one of Tertz's bizarre tales, rough drafts and even finished versions of novels torn into bits and "conscientiously flushed down the drain every morning" were caught in a "special dragnet or sieve underneath each house," to be pieced together by the secret police and delivered to the prosecutor's office.

The period since Stalin's death has been marked by faltering advances and periodic retreats, by a hopefulness never free from uncertainty. Nevertheless, many works have been published in the Soviet Union which could not have been before 1953, and the private circulation of unpublished works has become quite widespread. It is undoubtedly this atmosphere which encouraged Sinyavsky and his codefendant Yuli Daniel (he used the name Nikolai Arzhak) to publish abroad and think that they would get away with it. Events proved how grossly they miscalculated. At their "open" trial, the courtroom doors were closed to sympathetic students and friends and to the foreign press; articles in the official Soviet press on the eve of the trial extolled the "democracy of Soviet justice" and then proceeded to castigate the accused in the most acrimonious terms; the defendants were allowed, for the first time in a Soviet legal proceeding, to plead innocent of the charges in a case which was clearly prejudged by the court, by the state-controlled press and presumably by at least a segment of a Soviet public deprived of access to the offending works. The accused, in maintaining their right to freedom of artistic expression, were confounded by the seeming inability of the court to comprehend the essence of their argument. "The conclusions of the prosecution," Sinyavsky reportedly maintained during his trial, "have created the impression of a soundproof wall through which truth cannot pass." Sinyavsky might have recalled words he had written some years before in an essay now branded as "repugnant treachery":

> "When Western writers deplore our lack of freedom of speech, their starting point is their belief in the freedom of the individual. This is the foundation of their culture, but it is organically alien to Communism. A true Soviet writer, a true Marxist, will not accept these reproaches, and will not even know what they are all about. What freedom – if the comparison be permitted – does the religious person require from God? The freedom to praise God still more ardently?"

Smuggling literature abroad is not by itself a crime according to the statute under which Sinyavsky and Daniel were tried; it was necessary for the court to prove the "anti-Soviet nature of their works." Despite protests by both Communist and independent intellectuals in the West, the writers were found guilty of "slander," "anti-Semitism," "pornography," and "anti-Soviet propaganda"; their works were termed "false," "morbid" and "malicious." In 1959 Sinyavsky, with stunning prescience, had foretold his own fate through the narrator of his story, *The Trial Begins:*

> "The contents of my story . . . had become known to some highly placed officials. . . . The important personage [Stalin] . . . was by this time dead and his personality was being subjected to a public reevaluation. Nevertheless, I was accused of slander, pornography and divulging state secrets.
> "I had no defense: the evidence was to hand. . . . In the course of the interrogation it was established that everything I had written was pure invention, the product of a morbid and malicious mind."

Tertz's views, brilliantly set forth in his 1959 essay, "What Is Socialist Realism?", do not come as something totally new to a Western reader. It is the first time, however, that we have seen in print such a cogent, passionate and persuasive exposition by a Soviet intellectual – a "new Soviet man" at that, born and educated under Communist rule. This is not an arid treatise on Communist theory and practice, but Tertz's passionate attempt to work out a view of life *for himself*, even if it diverges from the basic precepts of his society.

Like Dostoevsky, with whose literary style his has been compared, Tertz is a soul in anguish. His need to believe and the failure of his faith are akin to Dostoevsky's tortured dialogue with God. Ivan Karamazov accepts the existence of God but renounces His eternal harmony as not being worth the tears of a single suffering child. Tertz accepts "the enchanting beauty" of the



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Communist ideal and nevertheless proceeds to reject it.

The nature of world history is, in Tertz's view, determined by man's need to believe in a higher life Purpose. Those fortunate enough to believe in an all-consuming ideal see the past, present and future in terms of a goal toward which they are striving; there is no place in their lives for disbelief, irony, cynicism:

> "A truly religious person relates all the splendid variety of life to his divinity. He cannot understand another faith. He believes in the Purpose so that he can despise other purposes. He shows the same fanaticism . . . with regard to history. A consistent Christian views the entire history previous to the birth of Christ as the prehistory of Christ. . . . And though the Marxists call themselves historical materialists, their historicism is actually reduced to a desire to regard life as a march towards Communism."

Tertz sees the achievement of Communism as "the sole Purpose of all Creation, as splendid as eternal life and as compulsory as death"; the goal is "salvation," not for the individual but "for all of humanity." He refers with fascination to "the dark and magical night of Stalin's dictatorship," equating Stalin with God, his Short Course on the History of the CPSU(b) with the Bible. In *The Trial Begins*, Stalin is referred to as the Master. The narrator of the story has a vision in which the Master's hand appears in the sky, a great, clenched fist held motionless above the earth:

> "Closing my eyes, I fell upon my knees and heard the Master speak. His voice came straight from heaven. 'Mortal, arise. Behold the hand of god. Wherever you may steal away and hide, it will reach and find you, merciful and chastising. Behold!' "

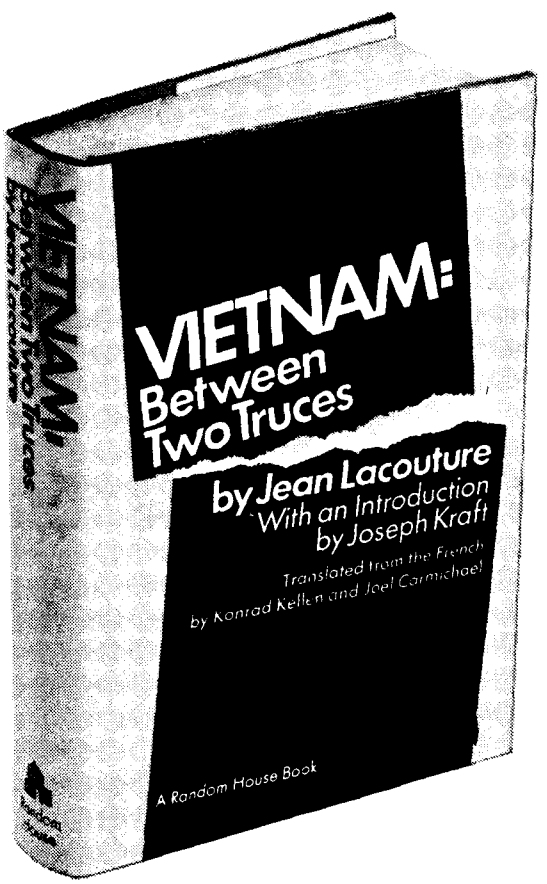
Christianity, Tertz points out, offers the choice between God and Satan, heaven or hell. In the same way Communism offers its subjects the choice of serving it unquestioningly or going to jail, which, Tertz wryly adds, "is by no means worse than hell." Total belief is the only justification for Stalin's dictatorship:

> "He is our Commander, our Ruler and our High Priest. To doubt his words is as sinful as to doubt the will of God."

Despite the irony, Tertz has retained a romantic view of the nobility of the revolution and of the "beautiful and splendid Communist ideal" for which it was fought:

> "It is easier for us to grant that everything that happened after the Revolution was its betrayal than to insult its memory by reproaches and suspicions. . . . And even though the Revolution was carried out in the name of Communism, its name does not sound less sweet to us for that. Maybe even sweeter."

But "every decent end consumes itself," says Rabinovich, Tertz's Jewish spokesman in *The Trial Begins*, "You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kill yourself trying to reach it and by the time you get there, it's been turned inside out." Rabinovich points to Leonardo da Vinci's art as an expression of individualism: "Free thought, free personality – the very same personality that replaced Christ and was gradually to establish the bourgeois way of life." And, he continued, "in the name of this freedom, individuals tore out each other's guts. . . . In cut-throat competition."

Christianity suffered a similar fate:

> "The stakes of the Inquisition helped to establish the Gospel; but what is left of the Gospel after the stakes have done their work?"

Ultimately, Means cannot be separated from Ends: "the stakes of the Inquisition and the Gospel . . . add up to one great Christian culture."

Having shown how the goals of Christianity and of individual freedom were destroyed in their attainment, Tertz turns to Communism. In a heart-rending passage, he cries out against a government that has permanently corrupted the Communist ideal:

> "So that prisons should vanish forever, we built new prisons. So that all frontiers should fall, we surrounded ourselves with a Chinese wall. So that work should become a rest and a pleasure, we introduced forced labor. So that not one drop of blood be shed any more, we killed and killed and killed.
>
> "In the name of the Purpose we turned to the means that our enemies used: we glorified Imperial Russia, we wrote lies in *Pravda* [Truth], we set a new Tsar on the now empty throne, we introduced officers' epaulettes and tortures. . . . Sometimes we felt that only one final sacrifice was needed for the triumph of Communism – the renunciation of Communism.
>
> "O Lord, O Lord; pardon us our sins!
>
> "Finally, it was created, our world, in the image and likeness of God. It is not yet Communism, but it is already quite close to Communism. And so we rise, stagger with weariness, encircle the earth with blood-



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shot eyes and do not find around us what we hoped to find."

Stalin's death and the subsequent re-evaluation of his "cult of personality" appear to have been the final turning point for Tertz. Stalin was mysterious, omniscient, omnipotent; he "needed only one quality to become God – immortality." Yet instead of "surrounding his death with miracles," he was posthumously dethroned. To discredit him was to discredit the foundations of the system:

"Once we admit that God carelessly sinned with Eve and, becoming jealous of Adam, sent him off to labor at land reclamation, the whole concept of the Creation falls apart, and it is impossible to restore the faith."

Tertz believes, however, that "after many centuries a new Purpose will rise above the world. But today no one yet knows its name."

Sinyavsky was 40 years old at the time of his arrest. A graduate of Moscow University and a highly respected academician and literary critic, he was associated with the Gorky Institute of World Literature. His major scholarly work deals with poetry of the early post-Revolutionary period. He has also written the introduction to a new edition of Pasternak's poems and has been a regular contributor to the liberal Soviet literary journal, *Novy Mir*. His widely published works, while distinguished by a high degree of scholarly accomplishment, are impersonal in style and conform in general to the requirements of Soviet ideology. It is only in his secret life as Abram Tertz that Sinyavsky emerges in his full dimension.

"Culture," wrote Tertz about the 19th Century, "was made by a handful of mournful skeptics who thirsted for God simply because they had no God." His criticism of Soviet society does not imply in any way that he is "pro-West." Although his analytical attention is directed to the world he knows, he does not look to the West for better models. Instead, he turns angrily upon bourgeois democracy:

"Why do you laugh, scum? Why do you claw with your well-cared nails the spots of blood and dirt that have stuck to our jackets and uniforms? You say that this is not Communism, that we took the wrong turning and that we are further from Communism now than when we started. Well then, where is *your* Kingdom of God? Show it! Where is the free personality of the superman that you promised?"

And in *The Trial Begins* he treats the loyal Communist Prosecutor Globov with great personal sympathy, disdaining the pseudo-liberal, disaffected lawyer Karlinsky.

A brief chapter in the history of Soviet literature has been closed. It is small consolation that Sinyavsky was aware of the risk that he ran, that his stories reveal his certainty of the inevitability of arrest and punishment.

"The court is in session, in session throughout the world. And . . . all of us, however many we may be, are being daily, nightly, tried and questioned. This is called history.

"The doorbell rings. Surname? First name? Date of birth?

"This is when you begin to write."


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# *Freud, Friend or Enemy?*

*by Seymour Rubenfeld*

*The Triumph of the Therapeutic:*
Uses of Faith after Freud
by Philip Rieff
(Harper and Row; $5.95)
*In Search of Sanity:*
The Journal of a Schizophrenic
by Gregory Stefan
(University Books; $5)

In this book Philip Rieff makes clear the directions of the monumental work he began in his earlier *Freud: The Mind of a Moralist*. He would have us understand the "uses of faith," the function of commanding religious and political ideologies, within a radical restatement of culture and its relation to human nature. Throughout Western history, according to Mr. Rieff, religious and sociopolitical revolutions, such as early Christianity, Protestantism and Marxism, have provided people with communal purposes through which they could direct their energies and restrain their desires in the face of calamity and scarcity.

These tides of mass devotion and rebellion are submerging under our rising abundance and our scientific rationality; Rieff tells the unquietly uncommitted readers who have the leisure and the cultivation to read his book that the ages of conviction are finished. "The question is no longer as Dostoevsky put it: 'Can civilized men believe?' Rather: Can unbelieving men be civilized?" This century's barbarities are not evidence to the contrary, but only the dying grip of recent dogmas, Fascism and Communism, on men's consciences. Modern alienation is more to be understood than lamented as Western man groping toward some commonality in his relinquishment of sacred and secular religion. The prophet of this understanding is Freud and the means, psychoanalysis, a rational "anti-doctrine" unique in our cultural history. Through it, modern man, to whom the noun "therapeutic" in the book's title refers, is curing himself by deconverting himself from dead moralities that dammed and channeled his inner life. Rieff shows masterfully how three post-Freudians – Jung, Reich and Lawrence – tried to reconvert psychoanalysis into a method for finding new symbols to worship, or for rediscovering old ones, and failed.

They failed, Rieff maintains, because the liberation of private life wrought by psychoanalysis portends individualistic communities in which people will be content to let live, as each pursues a private sense of well-being without some public god for all to serve. There will be no hate, but no love either as we know it; old fashioned intimacy will be replaced by mutually advantageous acquaintances strategically spaced and managed. No vocation or passionate preoccupation will be found (of the kind presumably that generates such a book as this), only more and less satisfying interests and diversions: a vision of Wellsian lotus eaters, and we, the Morlocks in their nightmares, no doubt.

The last does not do justice to Rieff, since his mode of anticipating events is neither prophetic nor advocatory. He knows, for instance, and says so with brilliant succinctness, that we lose free choice if we give up an ethic that calls forth the choice. He is a social scientist and philosopher making educated guesses about a future, which, whatever it loses, he suggests with wry resignation, will be better off without our bloody glories and cruel anathemas.

However, there are grounds, in logic and in evidence, to disagree with Rieff's prediction that culture can exist without unquestioning commitment to ideals and taboos. According to his analysis faith has given men common repositories for the exaggerated loves, and redemptions from the hates, of childhoods spent with the powerful, repressive parents of Freudian theory. Culture may not change family life as fast as we may be destroying our salvations from the child in ourselves. This can be a fatal discontinuity, since men may become suicidally bored before they achieve the liberation of reason.

Another demur, more optimistic about a future as we know it than the last or than Rieff's estimate is: Like other social scientists Rieff seems to assume



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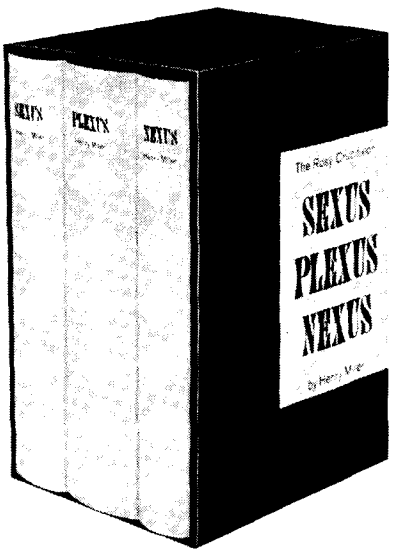


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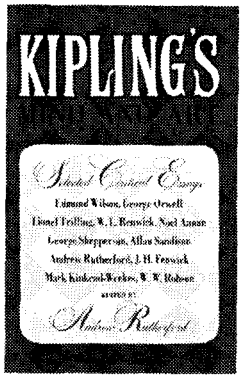


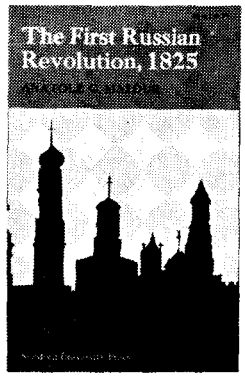


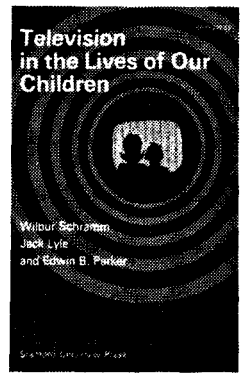


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mistakenly that the family is only one institution and subordinate to the general culture. However, the family prepares for culture as much as the other way around. Further, while Rieff seems correct in pointing out that much applied psychoanalysis has, despite Freud's wishes, become fixed as a technology for moral management, psychoanalysis as a body of knowledge has not stopped growing since Freud's death. Foremost among its explorations of the last thirty years is the discovery that the ego has a life course of its own, independent of the id. Erik Erikson has shown that, through the "pedagogic love" of which Rieff speaks, parents, in the very nature of their nurturing, develop in the child's ego its intrinsic capabilities for love, hope, dedication, fidelity – the elemental building blocks of faith. One might say that human beings come pre-committed. Culture as the conveyance of morality does not rest alone on the historical dialectics of creeds or on changes in living standards. What is perhaps culturally central in our time may not be the death of God but his outliving his divinity.

But these are rejoinders stimulated by a work of great force and originality. Like Camus, Professor Rieff tells us that there is a third way, other than defending old orthodoxies or fighting for new ones. Today's therapeutic is a metaphysical rebel. Like Camus' writing also, Rieff's best passages are breathtaking in their leaps across ideas and in their stunning insights. At other times he piles on his ideas unbearably, and the epigrammatic compactness of his style gives way to elliptical writing that forces annoying backtracking. But overall, the book sustains high intellectuality.

Stefan's book agrees with Rieff's in its preoccupation with psychoanalysis; in all other respects the books are nearly opposed. Mr. Stefan pleads for our deliverance from a prison of Freudian interpretations, which deny an ill person a basis for healthy self-regard by impugning his motives and wishes. It is a stock objection. Yet Mr. Stefan has a right to offer it. His name is the pseudonym of a reporter who suffered a psychosis and underwent psychoanalysis and other forms of treatment



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in and out of psychiatric institutions. Mr. Stefan diagnoses the literary quality of his book when he says he was a mediocre reporter. Curiously, he cheapens his own story of anguish with vulgarities and sensationalism. A criminally incompetent psychoanalyst is called "Dr. A. Gression," and chapter titles are straight out of *True Detective*; "Kill! Kill! Kill!", "Remember I Love You." Mr. Stefan's account cannot compare with Hannah Green's *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* in the power to move or in acquainting a reader with a schizophrenic's suffering.

In spite of Stefan's book and through its blind of stylistic clichés, one must finally acknowledge the reality of a life's torment and dissolution. The truth is there; the book cannot bury it. Miss Green was successfully analyzed, apparently, by a thinly disguised Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, who was one of the best therapists in the world. Mr. Stefan claims to have encountered psychiatrists who at best arrogated more authority than their field's limited knowledge and their personal skills entitled them to, and at worst perpetrated outrageous cruelties on him. The world asks psychotherapy to cure too much, with the result that even some of its more able practitioners sacrifice the patient's interest to their need to feel knowledgeable, or to avoid their ignorance. Mr. Stefan shows this. He also demonstrates the strength of Rieff's thesis when he indicates that he recovered through finding a form of faith.

## ART

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Most of this winter the Museum of Modern Art has been showing, side by side, two exhibitions, both first rate in themselves, which together form part of a base line for triangulation into the ways of art with life. At first glance the two seemed utterly unrelated and no doubt came into the Museum at the same time in the same wing of the same floor through those independent workings of independent forces that sometimes produce the happiest of coincidences. The photography department, in its ground-floor space, mounted a large retrospective of work of Dorothea Lange. The painting department, next door, did a superb retrospective of René Magritte, the Belgian surrealist.

Dorothea Lange was a member of that still astonishing group of documentary photographers assembled in 1935 by Roy E. Stryker for the Farm Security Administration, a group he held partly together for the Office of War Information and then for Standard Oil, while some members were reshaping photo-journalism at *Life* and elsewhere. Lange's FSA colleagues included Ben Shahn, Walker Evans, Jack Delano and Carl Mydans. In mid-New Deal Stryker and his photographers set out to document America with special reference to the drought areas. The effort provided one of the minor campaign diversions of 1936: Arthur Rothstein moved a bleached cow-skull a few feet to improve upon his original composition; with both prints in hand, a congressional investigation all but accused Stryker of having made up the drought as an election year spectacular. In the midst of all this Dorothea Lange moved through the drought area, quietly photographing the people caught in unexpected and inexorable catastrophe. John Steinbeck acknowledges her pictures of the victims as the inspiration for *Grapes of Wrath*.

These pictures provide a good share of the Lange show at the Museum. The blank, empty, permanently worried faces stare out at you, as if it were the thirties all over again. Like painters, photographers, if they're lucky, get to add one or two to the stock of mental images we all carry around in our heads for instant viewing: the creation of Adam on the Sistine ceiling, the Birth of Venus, the Shrimp Girl, the Shootings of May 3 in Madrid, the Hunters

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in the Snow, the Luncheon of the Boating Party. Neither subject nor manner seems to matter much; a felicitous coming together of just about all the elements of art with some mental-visual need felt by a lot of people and, bang, the image gets into our interior magic lanterns. Dorothea Lange's entry is that magnificent and heartbreaking photograph of the young-old California mother forever engraved upon the American consciousness. It's a close-in picture. The baby cradled in her arms is hardly noticed at first, but the infant forms the base of the composition, face stark white and barely glimpsed. Two older children turn their faces into the mother's neck and shoulder; we see only the back of their towheads against the dark, stringy hair of the woman. She simply sits, fingers of her right hand curved into her cheek at the corner of her mouth, brow lightly furrowed, lines also from her eyes and from her mouth. She squints a little, staring past the camera into nothing.

René Magritte has been much more consciously concerned through the years with the creation of arresting images than Dorothea Lange has. Some of his more memorable ones include: the eye in the slice of ham looking up at you from the breakfast plate; the materialization of human breasts upon the negligee neatly hung in the bedroom, titled "Philosophy in the Boudoir"; the enormous toilet articles lying about a bedroom wallpapered with sky; a locomotive in full steam rushing out of a fireplace; the eye in the sky since popularized by CBS; world, interiors and people all made out of furnace clinkers; a great stone mountain, tiny village on top, all balanced in air above the sea, just off shore, as if a mirage but much more clearly seen.

There is in Magritte's painting none of the flamboyant derring-do that marks Dali's from time to time. And there is none of the pretension and self-salesmanship that mars Dali most of the time. The manner is dry and competent, essentially that of an unimaginative plodder taking down the aspects and veduti of his native town or his countryside. It is the nature of the countryside that makes the difference. The Museum, always game, tries in its comments to turn Magritte into a mocker of the bourgeoisie, like the rest of us bourgeoisie, but he is certainly nothing of the sort. The idea could hardly be more foreign to his work. He uses the settings, the streets, the appurtenances of the bourgeois for the same reason Botticelli used those of the Italian Renaissance: that's where they lived; and bourgeois is where Magritte lives. He takes it for granted that his fabulous visions take place in a middle-sized contemporary Belgian town, exactly as Botticelli took it for granted that the visit of the kings of the East took place in a contemporary Italian hillside town.

Magritte plays with art, specifically with the picture as a frame. One striking vertical suite shows, top to toe, a girl's head as a separate picture, her bosom as another, her pelvic area as a third, then her knees painted and framed, and finally her feet. More often we see an easel set up before a vast view, or a small one, with the canvas merely outlined against the panorama, the easel's legs invisible through the transparent plane of the canvas. Or is it? The point is the question, not the answer.

One of the more astounding pictures juxtaposes a tower peak seen near at hand with a street receding into formal perspective: the two shapes are identical and again we are moved to question convention and flatness and distance and philosophy itself. The painting is wildly intellectual, as are so many. But the single really enduring image – in the sense of Lange's mother and children – is none of these quiet intellectual games. It is a simple evening scene in a Belgian town; you even persuade yourself that it could happen. The street itself is quite dark, with yellow lights seen in windows and doors and in a street lamp. Not only dark, it's black, with the trees forming a complete black wall silhouetted against the sky. But

## Notes on Contributors

Jeri L. Laber *is an expert on Soviet affairs.* Seymour Rubenfeld *is the author of* Family of Outcasts. Robert Evett, *book editor of this journal, is a composer with three symphonies to his credit; his Harpsichord Concerto was recently published by Peters.*



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the sky is that of broad daylight, a beautiful, bright blue with a few bright white clouds scattered upon it. Unsettling.

Back in the Lange show, there is one later photograph that has no particular relevance either to the social scene that she portrayed in the thirties or to the human family that has become her more recent focus. It is a casually seen vignette of San Francisco. We are looking down at the curb and see a man's foot stepping off. We see only the foot and part of the leg. It is bright and there is high contrast between white concrete and black shadow and object. He puts forth his foot; it is halfway to the pavement of the roadway and the shutter opens and closes. In light and show, in movement caught in the middle, in action stopped, we are witnessing life – not momentous life, not the interior life, not the imaginative life, certainly not the life of social protest, just plain, every minute, life – halted, examined, presented. Somehow, it's an image as chilling and as compelling and as baffling as anything in Magritte.

FRANK GETLEIN

## MUSIC

# *The South American Way*

At 50, Alberto Ginastera of Argentina is the leading composer of Latin America – "leading" not only in the sense of being perhaps the best, but also in the sense of being acknowledged by the other Latin composers as the one who sets the trend. He has led a whole continent of composers away from the nationalistic style represented by the late Heitor Villa-Lobos and into the kinds of post-Schoenbergian writing so common now in North America and Europe. He has reached a point in his career where whatever he writes is important. Because of this, it was good news when the New York City Opera Company, on moving to the Lincoln Center, selected Ginastera's opera *Don Rodrigo* as the first work to be presented in the sumptuous new hall.

Ginastera has been something of a quick-change artist. Pieces of his such as the Twelve American Preludes and *Estancia* of twenty years ago were good, intelligently made specimens of the debased parochial style then afflicting Latin American music. Since it is too late to suppress them, these pieces can be useful as points of comparison; but it is as if a painter trained to develop into a Norman Rockwell had, instead, become a Picasso. Ginastera's second period, culminating in the gorgeous Second String Quartet (1958) was a highly personal adaptation of Hindemithian neo-classicism. His third period has been devoted to the exploitation of techniques learned from Schoenberg and his school, though, again, the application has been independent and individualistic.

The most singular thing about Ginastera's work since 1960 is that none of the conventional words apply, either to his style or technique. Stylistic terms such as "conventional," "radical," "expressionistic" and "post-expressionistic" are irrelevant. What seems to be driving him hardest is the desire to create excitement by any means at his command.

One of his most pronounced idiosyncracies is his orchestration. He tends to ignore the ordinary limitations of the symphony orchestra and to ask for whatever he pleases – greatly expanded brass and percussion sections, for instance, with instruments or groups of instruments deployed all over the hall. The listener is engulfed from all sides with cascades of gorgeous, glittering sonorities.

In pieces of ordinary length (I'm thinking of the Piano Concerto and the *Cantata para América Mágica*) he has been remarkably successful: the variety and inventiveness of instrumental and harmonic color are dazzling. However, in so protracted and grand a work as *Don Rodrigo*, it becomes clear all too quickly that he is using the same tricks over and over again, and the impres-


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sion is not one of profundity but of superficiality. His style, as it stands now, is incapable of the variety needed for a work of operatic proportions. While his technique leans toward innovation, his aesthetic leans toward the conventional. The opera has fake arias, maiden's choruses, a coronation scene, a letter scene, a love duet, a death scene, and all the other trappings of a conventional opera except an overture.

In Alejandro Casona's libretto, Ginastera has found a medieval tale which, whatever its value as Spanish literature, has not much to say to the modern listener north of the Rio Grande. It has to do with a king who loses his throne as a consequence of dishonoring a young lady – a theme better suited to Verdi than to a 20th-Century composer. How the young lady comes to be his house guest, and therefore a suitable target for rape, is one of those operatic contrivances without which the whole tragedy could have been avoided. And the death of the king at the end is another of those operatic situations better left unexplained. This baggage left over from the 19th Century may, however, help to show why Ginastera has been so much more dramatic in the concert hall than he is in the theatre.

Some critics have pointed out that his opera is "deliberately atonal." They are talking through their hats. The piece is, substantially, serial; but serialism was never a guaranteed means of producing atonality. Alban Berg once defined atonality as "changing tonality," and if this is so, Ginastera's method is to prevent the changes from happening fast enough or frequently enough to produce this particular phenomenon. The score is, in fact, studded with tonal devices to provide a recognizable continuity – including an incessantly repeated horn call as recognizably cliché as the horn calls in the *Eroica* Symphony, and a homemade chord that is repeated so often as to constitute a leitmotif. So, listeners who are congratulating themselves on having finally found an atonal piece to like can start looking again.

But although Ginastera is not himself an avant-garde composer, he uses many techniques drawn from composers of the last 20 years who are farther out than himself. His music is most useful in conditioning a listener's ears to music which has no roots in Western aesthetics. And Ginastera also has an advantage over the modernists of 30 or 40 years ago in that the sounds he produces are voluptuously lovely.

Last spring, I attended rehearsals and the performance of a Ginastera work called *Sinfonia de Don Rodrigo* which was drawn from the opera. For me, the most unsettling thing about hearing the opera was that only a few fragments came back to me from the earlier hearing. *Don Rodrigo* is all atmosphere; it seems to be deficient in line, and for a protracted vocal work, this deficiency is large enough to mention.

*Don Rodrigo* has been compared unfavorably with Berg's *Wozzeck*. *Wozzeck* is almost completely successful as a stage work on its own grim terms, and it is its irrelevance as theatre that most weakens *Don Rodrigo*. What we are likely to forget, however, is that there is a difference of national styles and temperaments, and that as Ginastera speaks the language of an international style with a slight Spanish accent, his idea of what is meaningful in the theatre may be much more peculiarly Latin. A fairer comparison would


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be with such flawed works as *Boris Godunov* or Debussy's *Pelléas* – pieces which are rarely effective in the theatre, but are important for their originality.

The production, musically and visually, is a model of what opera can be when done right. The set designer (Ming Cho Lee), costume designer (Theoni V. Aldredge) and production director (Tito Capobianco) have given us the beauty and clarity of an Italian primitive painting – as if in deliberate counterpoint to the sordid events unfolding on stage. In singling out the excellent singing of the two principals – Jeannine Crader and Placido Domingo – I would like to point out that the whole cast is beautifully matched, the chorus superbly trained, and Julius Rudel's conducting of the difficult score is exemplary in every way.

Robert Evett

A checklist of Alberto Ginastera's music on records:
*Cantata para América Mágica* (Columbia ML-5847; MS-6447)
Concerto for Piano and Orchestra (Desto 402; 6402)
*Estancia* (Everest 6013; 3013)
*Lamentations of Jeremiah* (Music Library 7065)
*Pampeana No. 3* (Louisville 545-10)
Quartet No. 1 (Decca 9823)
Sonata for Piano (Desto 402; 6402)

# Correspondence

## After the Arrest

*Sirs:*

May I add to Alexander M. Bickel's reply to the critics of his article "After the Arrest" (February 12)? Detective Harry Winegar's observation that the only advice he ever heard a lawyer give his arrested client is to make no statement is probably accurate enough; his conclusion that this advice results in frustrating "the learning of facts which could release the prisoner" is, in this lawyer's opinion, sheer fantasy.

The lawyer's injunction to his client to remain silent is not motivated by a wish to quench the burning desire of the police to free the innocent. He knows – and most criminal lawyers know – that its purpose is to protect the client against the use of highly sophisticated and unscrupulous "interview" techniques in which police are trained and which are designed to lead any statement which the client may initially make, no matter how innocuous, into further statements which will (a) incriminate the client, or (b) cause the client to incriminate others.

These techniques customarily and routinely include such devices as the use of coached "eye witnesses" who are in fact not witnesses, the use of fabricated "evidence" which is not in fact evidence, the flaunting of nonexistent "confessions" of accomplices, the making of false or misleading statements regarding the status of the prisoner's family and friends, and similar bluffs, deceptions and frauds calculated to "break" the prisoner. . . .

It may be argued that an innocent person ought to resist the pressures herein described, and that there is nothing wrong with arresting and interrogating a "suspect," knowing him to be innocent and hoping to have him incriminate others. In evaluating these arguments, it must be remembered that (a) most of the persons upon whom these techniques are used are not experienced, callous criminals (who know enough to remain silent without a lawyer's advice); (b) often the prisoner is not certain whether or not he has committed a crime, since he is ignorant of the law; (c) the prisoner is usually ignorant of the consequences of his statement (he does not know what "may be used against you" means); (d) the prisoner is worried, often to the point of panic (a condition which the police freely encourage in many cases); and (e) he is ignorant of his constitutional rights to counsel. . . . and of the law generally.

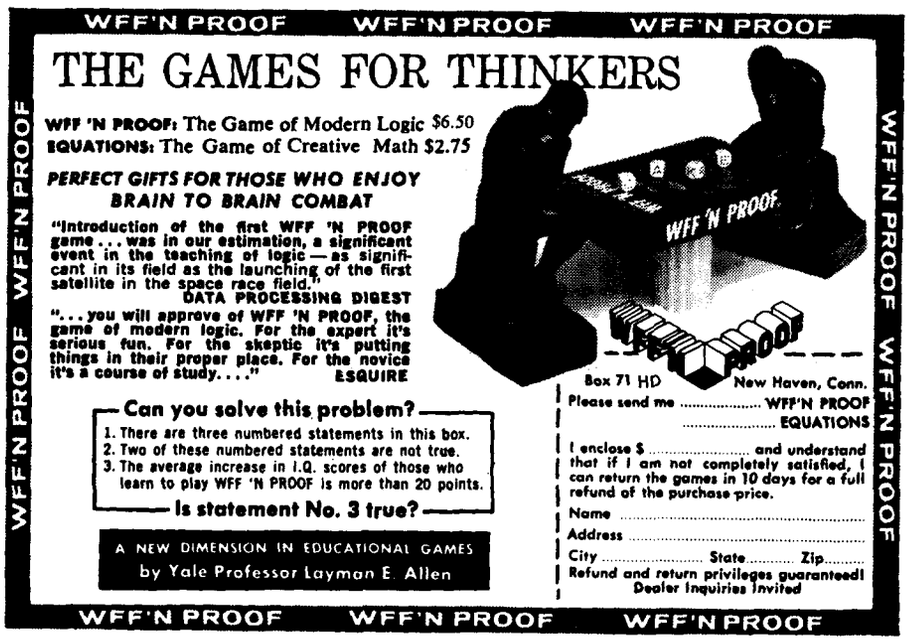
So far as protection of the public is concerned, it is unfortunately true that a substantial segment of the public is, from time to time, subjected to arrest and to the employment of the techniques herein described. Usually, they are a part of the public which lacks the protections of money, education and influence. Nonetheless, the "State" has a vital interest in their right to be protected from abuses of the police power. The answer, as Mr. Bickel points out, lies in more and better-trained police, and not in a gradual restoration of Trial by Ordeal.

*Gerald H. Goldberg*
*Harrisburg, Penna.*

## Esprit de Corps

*Sirs:*

*The New Republic's* coverage of the Vietnam war has presented the "liberal" arguments concerning US involvement excellently, and I have enjoyed reading your versions of the issues. But I would like to point out a factual error in your January 8 lead note. Therein you entered a paraphrased quote from *The London Times* which stated that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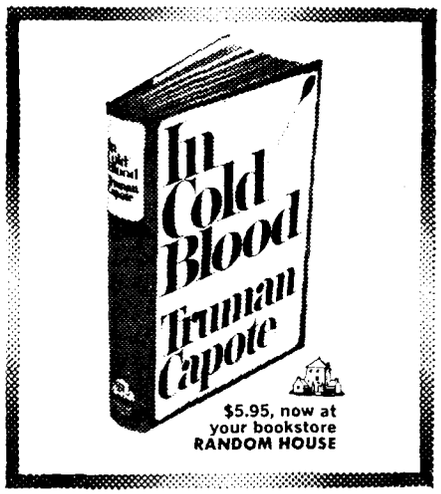


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The Coastal Force exists today, still working to block Viet Cong supply attempts from the sea, but it is no longer a para-military force, being inducted into the Vietnamese Navy in the summer of 1965, and few of the original "Sat Cong" sailors remain. Furthermore, there are no Vietnamese crews commanded by Americans anywhere in the Vietnamese Navy, nor have there ever been such crews.

*Robert Walner, Lt. J.G. USNR*
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